

## Massive Mapam vote to disband Alignment

By ROY ISACOWITZ

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — The Mapam central committee yesterday voted overwhelmingly to reject the national unity government and to establish a separate Knesset faction as soon as a unity government is approved by the Knesset. Mapam has six MKs.

More than 300 committee members voted for the decision with only a dissenting.

The decision dissolves the 15-year-old Alignment partnership between Mapam and the Labour Party. However, the committee approved a solution that Mapam will continue its partnership with Labour in the Knesset, the local authorities and every other place in which the two parties are lined up against the Likud.

The committee further decided that Mapam will "seek new avenues of cooperation with the Labour Party, in the event of the national unity government breaking up."

Yesterday's action was described by party secretary Yoram Aridor as "a decision with far-reaching consequences for the labour movement and the country." It was taken after an emotional four-hour meeting here yesterday afternoon. The tone was set from the outset by Shemtov, who, in an eloquent speech, summed up Mapam's opposition to Labour's pact with the Likud and its hopes for a future.

"Fifty days of shame and cynicism in the national unity negotiations have birthed to a monster with two right hands," Shemtov said. "Nowhere else in the world is there a model of government as absurd as this one."

Shemtov attacked the guidelines the government, the decision to establish two "inner cabinets" and a concession of all the important economic portfolios to the Likud. He also attacked the guidelines on economic matters, the implementation of many "anti-social" and "anti-worker" steps.

He quoted former finance minister Yoram Aridor as saying at the task of Labour in the new government will be to "swallow" the Likud.

Despite his attacks on Labour, Shemtov stressed that Mapam sees a Labour Party as its "natural" partner. "The Alignment is dead and buried," he said, "but we will continue to look for ways to work with Labour. Next time we will talk to them from a position of strength."

Shemtov and many of the other speakers called for a new, rejuvenated Mapam, which would serve as a nucleus of Zionist socialism. But a majority of speakers expressed doubt that Mapam would have much success in enlisting the support of the pharadi work force.

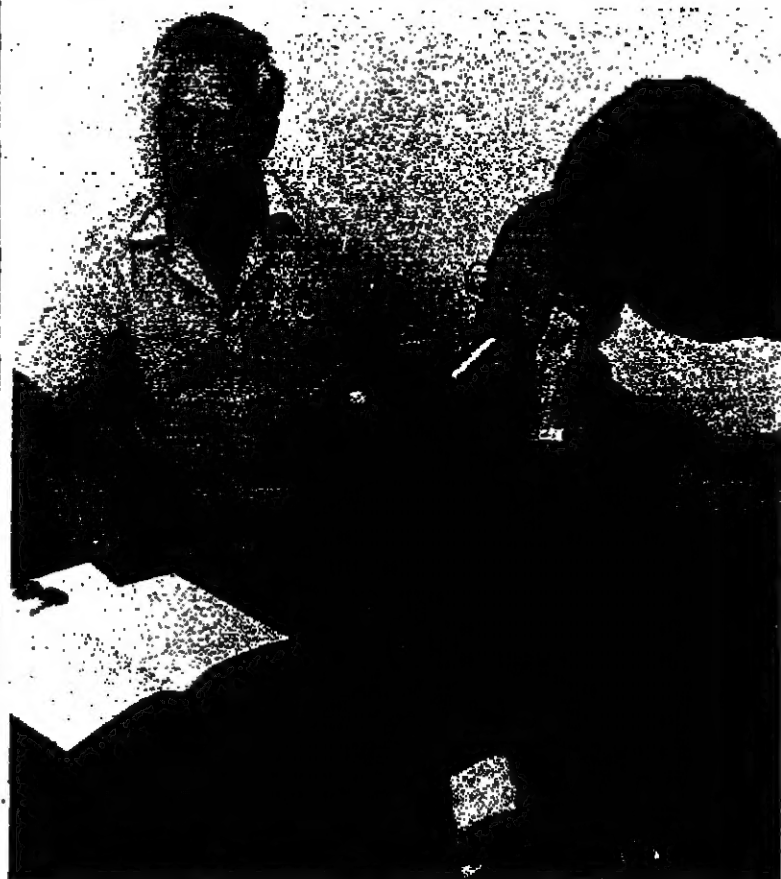
The resolutions approved by the central committee laid the "moral possibility" for the dissolution of the Alignment on the Labour Party. At the same time, they made a minute appeal to Labour to defect from joining the Likud in government.

Among the 30-odd speakers at the setting were the party's Knesset members and veteran Mapam leader Ya'acov Hazan, who described the moment of dissolution as "a tick day." There is no alternative to split from the Alignment, "if Mapam wants to retain its honour," Hazan said.

Mapam's first move, after the unity government is approved by the Knesset, will be to apply for the status of a separate Knesset faction. The Alignment's political bodies, in and out of the Knesset, will be dissolved and the Mapam leadership will draw up plans for the party's activities for the next year. The central committee is to reconvene in six weeks for a report on the party's plans.

Commenting on the Mapam decision yesterday, Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar said there is reason to break up the Alignment and the Histadrut. "There has been no hope and both parties will continue in power in the framework of the Alignment," he said.

Prime Minister-designate Peres voted a good part of his address to the Labour Party political bureau yesterday to an attack on Mapam.



Labour MKs Gad Ya'acobi (left) and Haim Ramon (right) yesterday at the headquarters of the Labour Party in Tel Aviv before leaving to join a parliamentary bloc with the Citizens Rights Movement. (Hanoth Guttman)

## Sarid leaves Labour

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Labour Party left-winger MK Yossi Sarid has concluded an agreement with the Citizens Rights Movement for the establishment of a parliamentary bloc.

Yesterday was Sarid's last day at the headquarters of the Labour Party, which he has decided to leave due

to the party's decision to participate in the national unity government. He described it as "the saddest day of my political life."

Sarid predicted yesterday that a 10-member parliamentary bloc — comprising himself, the three CRM seats and the six Mapam seats — would be established within a week. It would be an active "fighting opposition," he promised.

## Yahad makes concession: No national security council

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
Yahad Secretary-General Aluf (res.) Avraham Tamir will be appointed national security adviser, according to an agreement reached yesterday between Yahad and the Labour Party, but Yahad has had to forgo its demand for a national security council because of Likud objections.

According to the Labour-Yahad agreement, Ezer Weizman will be a minister in the Prime Minister's Office and will be charged with unspecified political and diplomatic functions.

The "inner cabinet," or another forum, will probably perform the functions of the proposed national security council, it was learned yesterday.

Tamir will be appointed adviser to this security forum it was decided

yesterday, in an attempt to reduce Weizman's dissatisfaction over Labour's failure on the national security council issue.

Tamir's appointment is also intended to dispel Weizman's fears of the erosion of his status in a national unity government. Labour sources said.

Yahad yesterday tried to portray the agreement with the Labour Party as a triumph. The inner cabinet will serve as the national security council which Weizman had demanded, and the national security adviser will provide it with data, estimates and recommendations, a senior Yahad source said.

"In the U.S. they have a national security council, consisting of the president and his assistants. So here it will be called inner cabinet, he said.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Prime minister lauds achievements

## Shamir: Early poll foiled economic plan

Post Knesset Correspondent

Prime Minister Shamir proudly ticked off a long list of the government's achievements during the 11 months he was at its helm, when the cabinet yesterday held its last regular session.

Shamir blamed the country's economic plight on the early elections which he said had interrupted progress towards economic recovery, achieved thanks to the success of Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad.

Shamir also said the situation in Lebanon is "somewhat calmer than before."

He painted a bright picture of relations with the U.S. and with Europe, following a period of crisis. Relations with Africa and Asia had also "progressed somewhat," he declared.

The country had been able to deal more vigorously with its economic problems during his year as premier, Shamir said, thanks to the relaxation in security and political tensions.

Shamir said that the cabinet had perhaps not yet recovered from the shock of the unexpected resignation of Menahem Begin last year. "For

many ministers he was a leader, a teacher and a guide," Shamir said.

Also at yesterday's cabinet session, the journey of President Herzog next week to Nijmegen, Holland was approved. The mayor of Nijmegen invited Herzog to attend the 40th anniversary of his city's liberation from Nazi occupation, and of the battle of Arnhem, in which Herzog served as a brigade intelligence officer in the British Army.

The cabinet also held a classified security debate.

An increase in rents on controlled premises by 95 per cent of the rise in the cost of living index was approved. Half of the increase due in October 1984 and half in January 1985.

On Wednesday morning, before the national unity coalition is presented to the Knesset, the Shamir cabinet will hold a very brief ceremonial session and offer toasts. After the Knesset vote of confidence the Peres cabinet will hold a very brief ceremonial session, probably also including toasts.

Knesset sessions today and tomorrow have been cancelled at the request of the Alignment and Likud.

## Peres battling party dissent to assure unity government

Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir are to meet one more time today to finalize their national unity government. The government is expected to be presented to the Knesset on Wednesday, despite the break-up of the Alignment, uproar in the Labour Party and continuing rumblings in the Likud.

● Peres is facing the toughest battle in his party. Shamir won the approval of the Herut secretariat to present his own slate of ministers to the party's central committee today.

● Peres scheduled two separate central committee sessions of his party today, in an attempt to deal with the ideological opposition to the unity government separately from those personally dissatisfied with its makeup.

● Despite this ploy, as many as 40 per cent of the committee may

vote against the unity government, including the powerful United Kibbutz Movement.

● Mapam voted yesterday to walk out of the Alignment with Labour, and maverick Yossi Sarid left the party to join up with the Citizens Rights Movement.

● Shinui meets today to decide if it will participate in the unity government, with party leader Amnon Rubinstein in favour and Mordechai Virshubski opposed.

● While getting his way in Herut, Shamir still faces revolt in the La'am faction of the Likud, which is demanding a cabinet post, and the hawkish-religious faction Marasha announced that Shamir had not yet satisfied its demands.

By ROY ISACOWITZ

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — The Labour Party leadership yesterday decided to convene two separate central committee meetings in an attempt to stem the rising tide of opposition in the party to the national unity government.

At the first meeting, to be held this afternoon, the central committee will be asked to approve the coalition agreement with the Likud. At the meeting tomorrow, Prime Minister-designate Shimon Peres will present his list of cabinet appointments for approval.

The leadership expects that by dividing the votes it will separate ideological opposition to the agreement from the personal or factional grievances of those passed over for cabinet posts.

Up to 40 per cent of the members of the central committee are ex-

pected to vote against the agreement at today's meeting. Young Guard leader MK Haim Ramon, who is organizing the opposition, said yesterday he would call for a secret ballot, which he believes will improve the chances of the opposition. According to the party rules, a secret ballot must be held if requested by at least 10 per cent of the voting members.

The pressure on Peres increased yesterday, both from those requesting that the agreement be changed and from those seeking cabinet seats for themselves or their representatives.

Peres said he had received "dozens" of telegrams and telephone calls. Nevertheless, he said he believes the agreement will be approved by the central committee.

Peres yesterday launched a vigorous defence of the agreement — and a bitter attack on its detractors — at a meeting of the Labour Party political

bureau. The agreement is the best available in the circumstances, he said. The only alternative is new elections, which would be held in a very bad economic climate, and no one could predict the outcome.

A narrow government is not an alternative, Peres said. The Alignment would have to guarantee two seats on the Alignment Knesset list to Tami and another two to Yigael Hurvitz's Ometz Party. Apart from which, he added, there is strong opposition within the party to relying on the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Progressive List for Peace for support.

Peres maintained that the unity agreement gives the Alignment a veto over new settlements, that it provides for the withdrawal of the army from Lebanon, and that it provides an opening for a peace initiative with Jordan.

He added that no promises have been made on the "Who is a Jew"

issue, the proposed archeology bill, or the demands for increased authority for rabbinical courts.

Peres replied strongly to the charge that he had not fought to keep the Industry and Trade portfolio for Labour, and that he had easily agreed to sit in the cabinet with MK Ariel Sharon.

"All of a sudden security is not important. Only the Industry and Trade Ministry is important," he said.

"Would you swap the Defence Ministry for the Trade Ministry? Does any post have greater economic importance than the defence portfolio?"

Regarding Sharon, Peres said that "whoever enters a national unity government accepts Sharon." Labour, he said, is not in a position to dictate the Likud's cabinet nominees.

Most of the 20-plus speakers at

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Liberals choose ministers

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — Ministers Yitzhak Moda'i, Avraham Sharir, Gideon Patt and Moshe Nissim were chosen by the Liberal Party's central committee yesterday as the party's members in the national unity government.

The central committee's members, who convened in ZOAH House yesterday evening, first unanimously nominated Moda'i in an open vote as finance minister-designate.

A secret ballot was then held to elect the remaining three ministers from among Sharir, Patt, Nissim and Pessah Grupper. Of the 237 central committee members, 175 cast ballots, giving Sharir 138 votes, Patt 134, Nissim 132 and Grupper 115.

Before the vote, Moda'i was given the authority to nominate deputy ministers to continue negotiations with the Likud concerning portfolios for the Liberal Party and the government's guidelines.

The Liberal Workers' Union members did not participate in the secret ballot, in protest against the party's breaking its promises to the union in previous secret ballots.

Union member Zvi Renner had been promised a "safe seat" in the Knesset by the committee, but did not get one.

Ariel Weinstein, who opened the meeting, said that despite claims that the Liberal Party would be the first to defect from the Likud, it had proved its loyalty and was the first party to approve its members in the national unity government.

Moda'i said that the Liberal Party would act to return Israel's economy and politics to Liberalism, although this might take time. Only Liberal policy can heal the economy and restore Israel to its past influence and attraction, he said.

Some committee members protested that the Liberal Party is joining the government without knowing what its guidelines are.

## New UN envoy named

Binyamin Netanyahu, minister at the Israel Embassy in Washington, is to succeed Yehuda Blum as ambassador to the UN, Israel Radio reported last night. Prime Minister Shamir reportedly told Prime Minister-designate Shimon Peres that the post had been promised to Netanyahu some time ago.

## Likud to let Shamir pick ministers

By ASHER WALLFISH

**Post Knesset Correspondent**  
Prime Minister Shamir yesterday convinced the Herut party secretariat, in a vote of seven to five, to let him present to the party central committee tomorrow his fixed slate of six Herut ministers due to serve in the national unity government.

While Herut's constitution does not make the secretariat's procedural decision automatically binding on the central committee, it is almost certain to be accepted.

Herut's first four ministers' names are known: Shamir himself as acting and deputy premier and foreign minister, David Levy as deputy premier and housing minister, Ariel Sharon as minister of industry and trade, and Moshe Arens as minister without portfolio.

The fifth and sixth names are very likely to be Haim Corfu and Yigal Cohen-Orgad, who at present are the ministers of transport and finance respectively, but whose roles in the national unity coalition are still uncertain.

Voting to give full powers to Shamir were secretariat chairman Yoram Aridor, Eitan Livni, Haim Corfu, Arye Kremer, Meir Cohen-Avidon, Michael Dekel and Ronnie Milo. Dekel and Milo are totally identified with Shamir in Herut's power structure.

Voting to leave the appointments of ministers, in varying degrees, to the central committee were Gideon Gadot, Nahman Peri, Moshe Katsav, Haim Kaufman and Dov Shilansky. Katsav, Kaufman and Shilansky, who all served as deputy ministers in the Shamir cabinet, sought to run as ministers in an open contest.

In another development, the La'am wing of the Likud met yesterday with Shamir to demand a cabinet seat.

Emerging from the meeting, La'am's Ehud Olmert said that he was more optimistic than he had



Ehud Olmert (left) and Ronnie Milo (right) chat before a meeting with Prime Minister Shamir yesterday. (Rahamim Israeli)

been beforehand, but would know Shamir's decision only in a couple of days. Shamir did not promise a cabinet seat in so many words, Olmert said, but undertook to make every effort on La'am's behalf.

Having given the seat earmarked for La'am to the Liberals to quell a potential uprising there, Shamir will have to convince Labour leader Shimon Peres to form a cabinet of 22 instead of 20 ministers. The Likud would then give its 11th seat to La'am, while Labour could give its 11th seat to Yigael Hurvitz, of the

one-man Ometz faction, who claims he too was promised a cabinet seat.

Both Shamir and Peres were kept busy yesterday with a line of suppliers.

The two-man Morasha faction called on Shamir and emerged telling reporters that Shamir had not yet agreed to any of their demands, such as amending the Law of Return, making Sabbath observance laws stricter, maintaining a steady settlement tempo in Judea and Samaria, and appointing their Knesset members to appropriate posts.

## The Management and Staff of Israel Discount Bank

deeply mourn the passing of

### DANIEL RECANATI

a pioneer and leader of the Israel economy,  
former Chairman and Managing Director of the Bank  
and head of the IDB Group.

The funeral will take place Tuesday, September 11, 1984 at 2.30 p.m. at the Old Cemetery, Rehov Trumpeldor, Tel Aviv.

The coffin will lie in state at the Head Office of the Bank, 27 Yehuda Halevi Street, Tel Aviv, from 12.30 to 2.00 p.m. on the day of the funeral.

The funeral procession will leave the Bank at 2.00 p.m.

Transportation will be provided from the Bank.

All offices of the Bank will close on September 11, at 12.30 p.m.

## Bulgar chief defers visit in second rebuff to Bonn

**ANN (Reuters).** — West Germany's efforts to Eastern Europe suffered a second rebuff yesterday with the postponement of a planned visit by Bulgarian leaders Todor Zhivkov, just five days after the leaders of East Germany called off a similar

"The Bulgarian Government has informed the Federal Government that head of state and party leader Zhivkov is unable to carry out his visit planned for September at the proposed time. The visit is postponed," the statement said.

"The (Bonn) Government regrets this decision," it added.

The postponement came without warning, government sources said.

Last Tuesday, after weeks of tense speculation, East Germany

announced that Communist party leader Erich Honecker would not be coming to West Germany this month as planned, in what would have been the first visit by an East German head of state.

Kohl has maintained that vigorous pursuit of contacts with Moscow's East European allies can keep dialogue between East and West alive, despite the freeze in relations between the superpowers, and ward off the "ice-age" that Honecker had threatened when Bonn decided to

deploy Pershing-2 missiles.

"Political dialogue is of special importance precisely in difficult times," Sudhoff's statement stressed yesterday. "The government reaffirms its offer of dialogue and cooperation with the states of Central and Eastern Europe." It added.

News of Zhivkov's decision coincided with a commentary yesterday by the Soviet news agency Tass that "relations between the superpowers have fallen to their lowest level in history."



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FRANKFURT	10	5	15	Clear
GENEVA	11	5	15	Clear
HAMBURG	10	5	15	Clear
HONG KONG	27	21	31	Clear
JORDANESBURG	16	8	24	Clear
LEON	17	8	24	Clear
LONDON	11	5	15	Clear
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MONTREAL	11	5	15	Clear
NEW YORK	11	5	15	Clear
OSLO	10	5	15	Clear
PARIS	10	5	15	Clear
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STOCKHOLM	11	5	15	Clear
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VIENNA	11	5	15	Clear
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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear.

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	33	13-27	28
Golan	39	13-28	29
Nabatieh	39	13-28	29
Safed	47	17-28	28
Haifa Port	63	16-29	29
Tiberias	57	19-34	35
Nazareth	40	18-30	31
Afula	38	19-31	31
Shomron	45	17-29	29
Tel Aviv	71	21-29	29
B-G Airport	60	20-30	31
Jericho	45	20-34	35
Gaza	70	20-28	28
Beersheva	17	17-22	22
Eilat	14	21-38	38

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Dr. Walter Katz, hon. president, and Mrs. Rachel Schwarz, hon. deputy-president of the Israel Youth Hostels Association, have been awarded the certificate of merit of the International Youth Hostel Federation.

Jerusalem Post consumer affairs reporter Martha Meisels will address the English-speaking Jerusalem Wizo chapter at a 12:45 p.m. luncheon tomorrow at the Wizo club, 1 Rehov Mapu.

## ARRIVALS

From Eilat, South American Conference in Brazil, Magda Halevi, Uruguay Liaison in Israel.

## Shalev Ginossar, 82

Prof. Shalev Ginossar, former dean of the Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University died on Saturday and was buried in Jerusalem yesterday. He was 82.

Ginossar was born in Antwerp in 1902 and graduated in law from the University of Brussels in 1925. He settled here in 1939 and was admitted to the Palestine Bar in 1941.

After service in World War II, Ginossar was appointed a district court judge in Tel Aviv. In 1951 he joined the newly created Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University.

Ginossar retired in 1972, but continued to serve on the board of *The Israeli Law Review* and to write numerous books and studies on legal subjects. A gifted musician, he was a graduate of the Royal Belgian Music conservatoire. Ginossar is survived by his wife Michal, daughter Dahlia Tsur and grandchildren.

## Liam O'Flaherty dies

DUBLIN (AP). - Novelist and short-story writer Liam O'Flaherty died here on Friday night, ending one of the most turbulent Irish literary careers of the century. He was 88.

His first novel, *Thy Neighbour's Wife*, was published in 1923 and from then until 1950 when the novel *Insurrection* appeared, he published 36 novels, short-story collections and volumes of autobiography.

For many years, O'Flaherty's books were ignored by the Irish public, and several were barred by the Irish censorship board. But now his works are studied in secondary-school English courses.

The Promised Land Ltd., Travel and Freight Office, Jerusalem, congratulates Miss Lily Dayan on the occasion of her birthday.

ORA Institute for Women CORRECTION

The classes for beginners, advertised in last Friday's paper are given in English, 5 Rehov Gert, Kiryat Moshe, Jerusalem, Tel. 02-521982.

# HOME AND WORLD NEWS

## Israel denies new report it helped Nicaraguan rebels

WASHINGTON. - The Israeli Embassy in Washington yesterday flatly denied a report in *The New York Times* that Israel is providing funds to anti-Communist Nicaraguan rebels fighting the Sandinista regime.

The newspaper yesterday listed Israel as among several countries - including Argentina, Venezuela, Guatemala and Taiwan financially supporting the rebels. Together with sums raised from private U.S. corporations and individuals, the report said, more than \$10 million has been collected over the last six months.

The *Times* did not say how much money Israel had supposedly provided.

"The report is not true," Victor Harel, press counselor at the Israeli Embassy said. "We deny it completely. Israel is not providing any aid to the Nicaraguan rebels, in any form."

He said the statements made by Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche in Washington earlier this year - also denying Israeli aid to the rebels - "remain operative today."

The *Times* which had quoted all of the countries as denying any financial assistance to the rebels, cited U.S. administration officials and the rebels themselves as the sources of the allegations.

One rebel leader, Mario Calero Portocarrero, told the newspaper "We're raising more than \$1.5 million a month, much of it donated by private Americans and corporations, including some large, well-known companies."

Administration officials were quoted as saying that "Israel and the other nations that have contributed money to the rebels have not diverted American assistance."

Instead, the officials said, "The countries have

helped the rebels with their own money because they have a common interest in combating communism and, in the case of Israel and Taiwan, hope to expand commercial markets for their products in Latin America."

The report said Israel "became involved last year when it made large contributions of Soviet weapons seized from the PLO during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon."

Israeli officials, while often denying any direct aid to the rebels, have previously confirmed that some of the arms sold to other neighboring Central American countries may later be transferred to the rebels without specific Israeli authorization.

"That's something we can't control," an Israeli official has said.

## Congressional analysts:

## 'Most Arab nations are behind in nuclear research'

WASHINGTON (Reuter). - Most Islamic countries in the Middle East would find it impossible to develop nuclear weapons independently before the end of the century, congressional analysts said yesterday.

In a study on the transfer of technology to six states - Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia - the analysts said most Middle East nations had not committed themselves to nuclear programmes.

But they found it increasingly likely that nations such as India, Argentina and Brazil, which have not endorsed international nuclear non-proliferation rules, would supply Middle East nations with nuclear weapons components within the next 10 years.

The study, by the U.S. Congress's Office of Technology Assessment, forecast that "no Islamic Middle Eastern country will be capable of acquiring a nuclear device on a wholly indigenous basis within this decade and most would find it impossible to do so before the turn of the century."

## Shi'ite leader bares plan for suicide attacks against IDF

BEIRUT (AP). - Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri, a leading member of Lebanon's national coalition cabinet, said yesterday more than 50 young Lebanese have been prepared for suicidal attacks against Israel's occupation forces in South Lebanon.

The justice minister, who also serves as minister of state for South Lebanon in the Syrian-backed cabinet, said, "I challenge Israel to remain in South Lebanon... I have begun issuing orders to more than 50 young men like Bilal Fahs," who he said, crashed his bomb-laden Mercedes into an Israeli armoured personnel carrier on June 16.

Meanwhile, American veto of a UN Security Council resolution condemning actions by Israeli forces in South Lebanon last week has aroused bitterness here, and a revolutionary group has threatened reprisals against U.S. property.

An anonymous caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Revolutionary Brigades told two foreign news agencies here that they would strike at an American installation as a reprisal for the veto.

The UN resolution, submitted by Lebanon, demanded an end to Israeli restrictions on the movement of people and goods to and from the occupied south. The U.S. vetoed it last Thursday, despite support from the other 14 members of the Security Council. (AP, Reuter)

The UN resolution, submitted by Lebanon, demanded an end to Israeli restrictions on the movement of people and goods to and from the occupied south. The U.S. vetoed it last Thursday, despite support from the other 14 members of the Security Council. (AP, Reuter)

All 430 pupils at Bialik were kept out of school yesterday and will be at home today as well.

## Former bank head Daniel Recanati

Jerusalem Post Reporter Daniel Recanati, who was for many years the chairman and managing director of Israel Discount Bank and the IDB holding company, died yesterday morning after a long illness.

Born in Salonika in 1921, Recanati came here with his father's family in 1945. Daniel joined the Discount Bank, and after his death in 1945, Daniel was joined to the board. In 1954 he was appointed manager, and from 1966 he served as chairman of the board as well.

Under his management, the investment arm of the bank grew and its holding company, IDB, was established.

Recanati was also a member of the advisory committee of the Bank of Israel. In April 1981 he retired for health reasons.

He is survived by his wife, a daughter and a son, Leon, who



Daniel Recanati

serves as deputy general manager of Discount Bank. Daniel's brother Raphael has served as chairman since Daniel's retirement.

The coffin will be placed at the headquarters of the bank tomorrow on Rehov Yehuda Halevi in Tel Aviv, from 12:30 p.m. to 2 p.m. At 2 o'clock the funeral procession will leave for the old cemetery in Tel Aviv in Rehov Trumpeldor.

## Terror suspect Nir gets few hours of freedom

HEBRON (Itim). - Shaul Nir, one of the Jewish terror suspects, is to be released from Tel Mond prison this morning to attend the *brit mila* ceremony of his son. The ceremony is to be held in Machpela Cave in Hebron.

Another terror suspect, Moshe Zar, 47, was released yesterday from imprisonment on health grounds by order of a Jerusalem magistrate.

Israel Television reported last night. The accused Jewish terrorists today will ask the court to rule on the acceptability of their confessions made during the police inquiry. This course of action was decided upon yesterday during a meeting between the accused and their attorneys in the Tel Mond Prison. The trial will resume next week in the Jerusalem District Court.

## Child killed, 11 injured in weekend road accidents

A three-year-old child was killed in Tulkarm yesterday when he was run over by a taxi. Ahmed Karmouch from the Nassariya refugee camp was crossing the road when he was hit.

On Friday, 11 people were injured, six of them seriously, in three separate accidents in the Sharon area. Eight of the 11 were hurt in a multiple crash near the Netanya interchange and were hospitalized in the town's Laniado Hospital.

Shaul Aloni, 25, his wife Fanny, 23, and Zion Rassari, 30, from Netanya were seriously hurt and five others were lightly injured.

In Petah Tikva, Matilda and Yosef Raitan, 50, were seriously hurt when their car crashed into the gates of the Segula Cemetery, where they had been attending a memorial service. They were hospitalized at Petah Tikva's Sharon Hospital. Eli Levi from Petah Tikva was seriously injured, when his car crashed into a parked truck in the town.

CHILDREN. - Over 2,000 children aged 3-5 are attending kindergartens in Ashkelon and the municipality is paying half of the fees, the Ashkelon spokesman said yesterday.

## Shinui to decide tomorrow whether to join government

BY ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The Shinui executive is to decide tomorrow whether to join the national unity government, with party chairman MK Amnon Rubinstein serving as communications minister.

Yesterday's executive meeting elected to wait for the coalition agreement to be released before deciding on participation. The executive empowered the party's leadership to continue negotiations with the Alignment.

Rubinstein said at yesterday's meeting that he inclined towards participation in the government, provided that Shinui's conditions were met. MK Mordechai Virshupski said he opposed participation in principle, though he would wait to see the coalition agreement before deciding.

Among Shinui's proposals for a coalition agreement are: the appointment of a cabinet committee

to submit recommendations for changing the electoral system within six months; the establishment of a second television channel; the authorization of cable TV and independent radio stations, and the appointment of a ministerial committee dealing with Arab affairs.

The party is also proposing that a law against racism be enacted, that the basic law on civil rights be brought for its second and third readings, and that every draft law that required large outlays of money specify the source of finance.

Shinui also demands participation of party representatives on the ministerial legislation committee, on the committee that appoints judges, on the proposed ministerial committee for Israeli Arab affairs, and proposes that Rubinstein head the ministerial committee for changing the electoral system.

The Shinui negotiating team will meet with the Labour team today to continue their negotiations over Shinui's demands and proposals.

## YAHAD

(Continued from Page One)

Asked how the Likud's objections to the national security council might affect the Yahad-Labour agreement on this, the source said the issue was none of the Likud's business. "The cabinet will be headed by the prime minister, who can appoint an adviser. He doesn't need the Likud's permission for that," he said.

The source denied reports of dis-

agreement between Yahad and the Labour Party and said a special team is continuing the negotiations over Yahad's demands for a reform in the taxation system and capital market. He said these points and others, on which agreement has not yet been reached, were all expected to be settled by Wednesday morning when the vote on the national unity government is due.

## PERES BATTLING

(Continued from Page One)

yesterday's meeting were critical of various aspects of the agreement, though many conceded that it is the best of very bad alternatives. Among those who came out in opposition were MKs Haim Ramon, Nahman Raz (of the United Kibbutz Movement), Micha Harish and UKM co-secretary Eli Zamir. Supporting the agreement were MKs Yitzhak Navon and Uzi Baram, both of whom were very active in the negotiations and Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar.

While announcing his qualified support for the agreement, Kessar warned that the Histadrut would not be the "prisoner" of the government, even a government led by Peres.

Most of the party's ideological study groups are likely to vote against the agreement today. In addition, many of the party's women members may oppose the agreement, to protest against Peres' anticipated exclusion of women in his cabinet.

The UKM central committee is to meet this morning to decide whether its representatives should participate in the government. The UKM has already decided to oppose the agreement in the central committee today. UKM co-secretary Eli Zamir said at the bureau meeting that the kibbutz MKs would support the government in the Knesset if it is approved by the party's central committee.

Peres met yesterday with MK Abdel Wahab Darousha, Labour's sole Arab MK, who presented him with a list of five demands in return for his support in the Knesset. Among other things, Darousha demanded that he be appointed deputy minister of education or the deputy interior minister and that a law against racism be enacted. Peres replied that he would consider the demands.

Arab members of the Labour central committee have warned that they will not support the agreement if Darousha is not appointed to the cabinet.

Labour Party members in the Histadrut Teachers Union yesterday sent a telegram to Peres asking that

Darousha be appointed deputy-education minister. They wrote that this would improve education in the Arab sector and facilitate the integration of the Arab community.

Although Peres is expected to appoint Darousha tomorrow, he is reported to have already finished making his choices. The likely Labour lineup is: Peres - prime minister; Yitzhak Navon - deputy prime minister and education minister; Yitzhak Rabin - defence minister.

Arye Nehemkin - agriculture minister (if he can overcome the challenge within the moshav movement from former MK Raanan Na'umi); Ya'acov Tsur - absorption minister (if the UKM decides to participate); Haim Bar-Lev - police minister; Mordechai Gur - possibly health minister; and Moshe Shahal - possibly energy minister.

Ezer Weizman will be minister in the Prime Minister's Office, with special responsibilities. Gad Ya'acobi will be a minister, but has not yet decided whether to occupy the economic-coordination portfolio. Shinui leader Amnon Rubinstein is to know only tomorrow whether his party will allow him to become communications minister.

Ometz leader Yigael Hurwitz will reportedly become a minister if and when the National Religious Party decides to accept the Interior Ministry.

## Peace Now to picket Labour Party today

Jerusalem Post Reporter Calling on the Labour Party to prevent the inclusion of Ariel Sharon as senior minister in the national unity government, Peace Now will today demonstrate outside the party's central committee meeting in Ohel Shalom auditorium in Tel Aviv, Peace Now announced yesterday.

The movement's leaders yesterday asked to meet with Prime Minister-designate Peres before the central committee meeting, and the movement was also contacting central committee members to ask them not to support a government including Sharon, the announcement said.



Rabbi Alan Plancey of Elstree, England, joins nine-year-old Ben-Yehuda in renovating an Ashkelon community centre. Volunteers are helping neighbourhood residents in the work as part of the British Joint Israel Appeal's sponsorship of Project Renewal in Ashkelon. (Sandy Greenberg)

## Court bars defendant's Kach T-shirt

KFAR SAVA (Itim). - The yellow Kach Movement T-shirt worn by a man on trial for threatening Knesset Members became the focus of yesterday's hearing in the Kfar Sava Magistrate Court.

Avner Uzan, 26, of Ariel, is accused of threatening MKs Mordechai Virshupski and Mordechai Bar-On outside Tel Mond Prison on August 26, when the two legislators, accompanied by other MKs, came to check reports of preferential treatment being given accused members of a Jewish terrorist underground.

At the beginning of yesterday's hearing, Uzan asked Judge Yehuda Farago to remove the reporters from the courtroom, but the judge refused. Farago then noticed that Uzan was wearing the Kach T-shirt, imprinted with the movement's clenched-fist symbol and the slogan, "Kahane to the Knesset."

Farago told Uzan the court is the place to wear clothing that cares a particular political point of view. He ordered him to leave the court and to change his shirt.

Uzan argued it would take him long to go to Ariel to change his shirt and return, and asked Farago to adjourn the hearing. Farago refused and continued the session, warning Uzan not to reappear in court in a Kach shirt.

Uzan is accused of threatening the two MKs with physical harm. The indictment says that he used loudspeaker to shout at Virshupski, "I'll take off your other foot, I'll put your tongue and dig your grave because you've already got one in the grave." He is also accused of calling the MKs "PLO-ists and terrorist lovers." The trial was adjourned until October 4.

## Bank clerk charged in fraud of aged

TEL AVIV (Itim). - A bank clerk was charged yesterday in the local district court with defrauding a number of elderly women of their German reparations money. Ilan Avner, 27, of the Union Bank's Tel Aviv branch was in charge of the foreign-currency accounts of the women clients of the bank.

According to the charge, Avner borrowed from the clients, citing his need for money to cover the cost of an operation for his sick wife. The

prosecution said that the story was false.

When the time came to repay the loans, Avner allegedly transferred money from the clients' own foreign currency accounts to their bank accounts to make it look as if he returned the loans.

Avner allegedly defrauded 10 women out of the following sums: DM468, DM3,700, DM2,200, \$3,000 between April and May.

## Court forbids Black Hebrews deportation

The High Court of Justice yesterday issued an interim order forbidding the deportation of two members of the Black Hebrew community in Beersheba, Hizkiya Ben-Yisrael and Ben Haim Ben-Yisrael.

The Interior Ministry had ordered their deportation after they were accused in the Beersheba Magistrates Court at the end of last week of attacking a former member of the community, Geneva Holly, who is

Ben-Haim Ben-Yisrael. In requesting the order, the attorney for the two men argued that since they have not been found guilty of any crime and are not a public danger, there is no ground for their deportation. He further argued that Black Hebrews have been living in this country for many years within the authorities adopting a deportation policy against them. "Even if they are found guilty, this will justify deportation," he said.

## City engineer arraigned in Haifa balcony deaths

HAIFA (Itim). - A municipal engineer yesterday became the second person to be arraigned before the Haifa Magistrates Court on suspicion of culpable negligence in the death last week of Esther Aharonowitz, 64, who was killed when her apartment balcony collapsed.

Salman Murdik, 58, of Kiryat Ata, was released by Judge Reuven Ben-Horin on IS30,000 bail.

A police representative told the court Murdik is suspected of ignor-

ing requests to examine the balcony following complaints by Aharonowitz and her husband in June. He thus suspected of negligence in connection with her death. Aharonowitz was killed on September 1 when she went out on the balcony to hang laundry and it collapsed. Last week the landlord of the apartment building at 7 Rehov Sokolow, Yitzhak Bar, 83, was arraigned on a similar charge and released on IS80,000 bail.

## Firemen start job action

Jerusalem Post Reporter HAIFA. - Firemen throughout the country intend to answer only emergency calls starting this morning. All other duties, including fire-safety inspections and administrative work, will cease.

The job action is in protest against the refusal of the Union of Local Authorities to sign a new work agreement with the firemen.

## Comfort promoted

Police deputy commander Rami Comfort, currently serving as commander of the Jerusalem sub-district, will be appointed deputy commander of the police's southern district next week. He will replace deputy commander Shmuel Bogdan who is retiring. Assistant Commander Haim Albaldos will take over as head of the Jerusalem sub-district.

We deeply mourn the untimely passing of a gentle person

**JOEL ELIEZER DAVIDSON**

our beloved son and brother

Sarah Davidson  
Judy Davidson  
Jerusalem

The funeral will leave from the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour today, Monday, September 10, 1984, 13 Elul 5744, at 11:00 a.m. A service will be held at the Har Hamenuhot cemetery, Givat Shaul. (We will meet at the parking lot at 11:15 a.m.)

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

**JACOB NUSSBAUM**

(son of Nathan)

The funeral took place Friday, September 7, 1984

Deeply mourned by

His brothers: Enrique Nussbaum, Chile  
Joseph Nussbaum, Haifa

His nephew and nieces: Freddy Nussbaum  
Miriam Nussbaum  
Yael Metzger

has passed away suddenly

Darling daughter of Gertrude Fluxman

Deeply mourned

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Orchard, Johannesburg

**LOUIS FLUXMAN**

To

**JUDY DAVIDSON**

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**BROTHER**

Your Friends at Kiryat

The Rotary Club of Jerusalem mourns the death of Rotarian

**Prof. SHALEV GINOSSAR**

and extends condolences to the bereaved family.

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## Report on bank crisis could lead to shake-up

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

The country's financial system today seemed headed for a period of instability, following reports that State Comptroller Yitzhak Ben-Nun will rap the Bank of Israel and Finance Ministry for lack of action in the months leading up to October's bank shares crisis.

According to leaks, the report will state that the failure to act constituted raiding of the public.

Ben-Nun's findings may result in a shake-up in the banks' upper echelons, where the main actors in last year's drama still hold important positions.

Economic observers say the main theme of the report may be Bank of Israel Governor Moshe Mandelblat and Banks Examiner Galia Ben-Nun.

As reported last week by *The Jerusalem Post*, the report will blame the central bank and the Treasury for the crisis. The commercial banks are mentioned only indirectly.

The comptroller is not empowered to examine the actions of the bodies.

The Post has learned that the comptroller will report that though both the law and the Bank of Israel's position obligate the bank to guard the financial system's stability, it failed to do so.

According to reliable sources the comptroller will also state that much of the damage done to the public could have been prevented if the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Israel had acted earlier.

Ben-Nun will report that the two bodies' failure to act deepened the crisis, and will characterize their inaction as defrauding the public, the sources say.

Even before publication of the report, calls for drastic action are being made. Knesset Member Avraham Katz-Oz yesterday renewed the demand for a commission of inquiry into the bank share crisis. The call for a commission of inquiry was first made by Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir immediately after the crisis in the bank share market, but has been resisted until now by Mandelblat and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orlag.

## viets postpone New Year tennis match

By JACK LEON  
Post Sports Reporter

AVIV. - The Soviet Union has postponed its request to host the scheduled start of the Davis European Zone "A" final between the two countries from October 28 to 29, as the former is the second day of Rosh Hashana.

September 29 and 30 and October 1 reached the Israel Tennis Association office here yesterday from the International Tennis Federation in London.

But the international body still has no news about Israel's request for entry visas to Russia for four players, two coaches, a non-playing captain and some 20 ITA members and journalists who want to go to Donetsk.

## UJA fundraisers convene here

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A United Jewish Appeal opens annual campaign this year in Israel for the first time in its 45-year history, with the arrival of 800 fundraisers in Jerusalem today.

The participants are taking part in simultaneous missions - the national campaign chairman's leadership mission, the community campaign chairman's leadership mission, the national division chairman's leadership mission and the New York UJA Federation's leadership mission.

The fundraisers will be based in Jerusalem hotels and travel throughout the country on 27 buses.

Among the points on their itinerary are nine Arava settlements, four Youth Aliya villages, six facilities supported by the Joint Distribution Committee and dozens of Project Renewal neighbourhoods.

They will meet with President Herzog, Prime Minister Shamir, Premier-designate Peres, Knesset Members Navon and Rabin, Jewish Agency Executive Chairman Arye Dulin and other dignitaries.

The 1985 campaign aims at raising close to \$700 million in the U.S. - the highest target ever - with over half of the money going to Israel. The campaign theme is "Partners for Life."

## lan Druse try to ease boycott

MENAHIM HOROWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

AT SHMONA. - Half of the Heights Druse with Israeli citizenship have given their support papers to Sheikh Amin, leader of the Israeli Druse community, in the last two weeks. It is an attempt by the Golan Heights Druse to ease the social and religious boycott imposed on them by their neighbours.

Some 250 Druse residents of the Golan Heights have received Israeli citizenship over the last several years. But both they and the authorities have kept the names secret so that pro-Syrian Druse would not take action against the new citizens.

When the Voters Register was published before the last election, their names became public knowledge. They were cursed and beaten up, and religious leaders excommunicated them.

Many of the Druse citizens believed that they could end the social and religious boycott by turning their papers over to Tariff. But the Druse religious leaders in the Golan Heights have said that the excommunication will be lifted only when the citizens sign forms declaring that they totally renounce Israeli citizenship.

## like stopping of Safad's services tomorrow

MENAHIM HOROWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

D. - All municipal services will be halted by a strike tomorrow, the municipal work-committee yesterday announced. The 400 workers decided to stop after not receiving their paychecks.

Municipal workers claim that they complained to Mayor Perle, he told them they would receive last month's pay in the future.

Meanwhile, the city's two comprehensive secondary schools were yesterday. The 120 teachers did not receive their August pay, and plan to stay out until they receive it.

There are some 1,000 pupils in the schools.

A municipal spokesman said that a deficit of \$140 million before cannot pay the salaries.

## Sydney paper rapped for anti-Semitism

By SAM LIPSKI  
Special to The Jerusalem Post

MELBOURNE. - The Australian press council has upheld a complaint against a leading national weekly newspaper for publishing an anti-Semitic cartoon last May.

The complaint was brought by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry against *The National Times* after a full-page drawing depicted a satanic cloven-footed rabbit slicing



Song-writer Levin Kipnis (right) celebrates his 90th birthday last week at Tel Aviv's Ariella Library. Singer Yaffa Yarkoni (left) congratulates Kipnis, as writer Uriel Ofek looks on. Kipnis has written some 2,000 songs and 800 stories. (Hanoach Guttman)

## Kollek calling in pledges on Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek is trying to pin down Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir to their pre-election promises about Jerusalem.

Kollek yesterday sent a letter to the Labour and Likud leaders reminding them of letters they had sent him during the election campaign. In these letters, answering questions about Jerusalem's future from Kollek, both leaders promised nearly everything Kollek asked for.

Among Kollek's requests was the formation of what he described as an

"active" ministerial committee on Jerusalem, giving people who move into the capital's new neighbourhoods the same kind of aid afforded to settlers in the West Bank, developing industry in Jerusalem, and enacting special legislation for the capital.

In yesterday's letter to Peres and Shamir, Kollek said that he hopes that the two parties will remember the national consensus on Jerusalem. He also said he hopes the national unity government will be able to stop extremism in the country.

## 'Monitin' can't use photos of nude girl

TEL AVIV (Item). - A 19-year-old bride who posed nude for photographs before she met her husband yesterday won a temporary restraining order in the Tel Aviv District Court barring the monthly magazine *Monitin* from publishing them.

The order, sought by Anat Ronen-Peretz, was issued for 10 days against photographer Ariel Semel and against the editor and publisher of *Monitin*. The order bars the respondents from publishing, distributing, selling or in any other way using the photos of Ronen-Peretz for 10 days, until the applicant files her principal suit in the case.

In requesting the order, Ronen-Peretz told the court Semel had photographed her in the nude on various occasions with her consent, but had gone on to sell them to the magazine against her wishes. She

claimed their publication would cause irreparable harm to her reputation, personal anguish and damage to her family honour.

Ronen-Peretz said she met Semel when she was 17 and still in high school. She fell in love with him and agreed to pose nude, but only after he promised to keep the photos to himself.

"I later broke off connections with him. I met my husband and married him on July 7," she said.

Arguing for the restraining order, Ronen-Peretz's attorney pointed out that some of the pictures had been taken when she was a minor and that the magazine's use of them would violate the Protection of Privacy Law. Judge Hanna Eynor issued the order and directed Ronen-Peretz to submit her principal suit on the matter within 10 days.



Two of the four six-month-old cheetah cubs that arrived in Israel last week from South Africa get accustomed to their new spot in Ramat Gan's Safari Park. (Ippa)

## Nahal marks 35 years of pioneering, defence

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The spirit of pioneering provided a refreshing change from the country's preoccupation with political wheeling-dealing yesterday, when the Nahal marked its 35th anniversary.

The ceremony, full of patriotic and idealistic songs and dance, was held in the grounds of Beit Hanassi, in the presence of President Chaim Herzog, Defence Minister Moshe Arens, Education Minister Zevulun Hammer and Deputy Chief of General Staff Aluf David Ivri.

Nahal - Pioneering and Fighting Youth - is a branch of the Israel Defence Forces in which soldiers split their service between active

duty and time in settlement outposts in areas important to the country's defence.

This spring Nahal received the Israel Prize, becoming the first institution, rather than individual, to do so. Since its founding, 124 Nahal settlements have been established by 2,800 settlement groups. A total of 85 of these settlements have been handed over to civilians.

"What you built with your own hands was an unparalleled contribution to the State of Israel... The pioneering idea of Nahal is as vital today as it was at the beginning," Herzog said.

Arens said that Nahal settlements stand for the integration of settlement and security, and listed some

famous former Nahal outposts - Ein Gedi, Ein Yabav, Nahal Oz, Kalia, Mehola, Tapuah, Yotvata and Bracha.

The education minister, whose office is responsible for choosing Israel Prize winners, said that Nahal succeeded despite bouts of opposition, including claims that Nahal pioneers would spend more time in the fields than in the army.

But, Hammer continued, the founders of Nahal had the foresight to see that combining pioneering with defence was necessary for the country.

The Nahal musical troupe sang a medley of old and new songs, followed by a performance by the Kibbutz Sha'ar Hanegev troupe.

## NEWS ANALYSIS/Charles Lazarus

## Mulroney's policies echo Reagan's

MONTREAL. - If there is one thing that is already abundantly clear from the landslide defeat of Canada's Liberal government by the Progressive Conservatives, it is the link to American conservatism led by President Reagan.

This is true both for economic philosophy and foreign policy - particularly pertaining to relations with the Soviet Union, and resolving the Middle East conflict.

Aside from what bold strokes the new Progressive Conservative government under Brian Mulroney might make with the overwhelming mandate of 211 seats in the 275-seat House of Commons (the greatest Tory victory since John Diefenbaker gained power in 1958 with 208 seats), the election result also reflected three political realities pertinent to other western democracies:

First is the accuracy of public opinion polls which predicted the overwhelming victory for the Conservatives; second is the importance of image, which Liberal leader John Turner projected very badly during the campaign; and third, that one can no longer depend on "expert" veteran political strategists whose wrong advice contributed substantially to the Liberal defeat.

Particularly important, and understandably so, to Canada's Jewish leadership is what Conservative policies will be regarding the Middle East. Arab boycott pressure on Canadian companies doing business in the Middle East, prosecution of alleged Nazi war criminals residing in Canada, action on behalf of Soviet Jews, and curbing racist propaganda.

It is much too early in this dramatic transformation of the Canadian political scene to speculate on such specifics as possible legislation, but on the basis of interviews with Mulroney, a picture, however vague, is beginning to emerge.

Mulroney has made it crystal clear that a secure and viable Israel is the first pre-condition for any settlement in the Middle East. But he appears equally committed to negotiations that could lead to a Palestinian homeland. Yet he has never used the

word "state" concerning the West Bank and the Gaza District.

During the election campaign, Mulroney told an Israeli Bond dinner audience made up of the most prominent Canadian Jewish leaders that negotiations cannot begin until Arab terror tactics against Israel are officially abandoned. Israel's right to exist is officially recognized and the Palestine Liberation Organization is written off as a partner in the negotiating process.

"You can only negotiate from a position of mutual peace. That's why the conditions precedent to which I referred are so important. Once they are honoured and recognized, it seems to me that we get to the point where a burden then falls on Israel. I suspect that it would be a burden Israel would happily assume and attempt to discharge," he said.

Mulroney feels it is Israel's responsibility to help find a "fair and equitable and honourable resolution to the Palestinian question. The sadness that exists among the Palestinian people, the dispossessed, is genuine - an enormous problem we all recognize."

To sum up: The Mulroney Middle East formula is patterned largely after the Reagan plan. Within the framework of Camp David, the first step was peace with Egypt with which normalization of relations are a prerequisite. This step should be followed by involvement of Jordan, another Arab "moderate."

On the Arab boycott issue, Mulroney appears not yet ready to commit himself to toughening Canada's policy which asks Canadian companies doing business within the Arab states to notify the government of boycott pressures. The companies are not required by law to do so. An

attempt by the Liberals to require companies to report such pressure died on the order paper in 1978.

The prosecution of alleged Nazi war criminals taking refuge in Canada does not yet appear to be a priority for Mulroney.

"This is not a country," he has conceded, "where we should be harbouring anyone who has committed crimes, least of all crimes against humanity."

However, the string he attached to his humanitarian position was that "we have to take a look at what we're talking about in specific terms."

While Mulroney rejects Soviet arguments that the treatment of Russian Jewry is an internal matter, he feels that "the prime minister of Canada has a unique opportunity to do something on behalf of Soviet Jewry... I would hope for a meeting with Chernenko, and this would be part of the discussion."

Mulroney feels strongly about this, however naive it may sound, to those who have had to deal with the Soviets on this question.

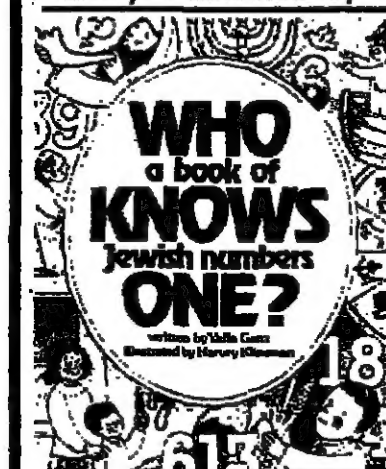
Hate literature, Mulroney feels, can be controlled by "tightening of the law" which, in Canada, is loose enough at this point for legal quibbling to defeat any attempt at control. Just how and when such legislation will become a priority issue for the Progressive Conservative government is a large question.

Finally, on relations with Russia, Mulroney largely reflects the feelings of Reagan, particularly in the matter of the Middle East.

The Soviet Union, he says, has shown "little evidence of a desire for stability and peace in the Middle East. The U.S., of course, has been a leader."

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Else Gebel, a bookkeeper, was an inmate in a Gestapo prison, together with the 21 year old student, Sophie Scholl. Sophie with her brother Hans, were imprisoned in the university of Munich on February 18, 1943, and executed for high treason on February 22. Else Gebel depicts the last five agonizing days of the life of Sophie Scholl.

HAIFA: BEIT HA'AM, Pessach St., near the Municipal Theatre

Wednesday, September 12, 1984 at 7 p.m.

Tickets: Nova, 32 Herzl St., Haifa.

JERUSALEM: BEIT AGRON, Thursday September 13, 1984 at 8 p.m.

Tickets only at the office of the Journalists Association, 1st floor, Beit Agron, on Sept. 11, 12 and 13, 10 a.m.-noon, and on Sept. 13 also 3-5 p.m.

NETANYA: OHEL SHEM, Monday, September 17, 1984 at 5.30 p.m.

Tickets at the cinema.

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## WEEKLY REVIEW

Taking It  
On FaithCandidates Urged to Drop  
No-Win Issues of Religion

By HOWELL RAINES

**B**Y the end of the first week of the general election campaign, strategists for both Ronald Reagan and Walter F. Mondale were worried about continuing the debate over the role of religion in politics. But the issue wouldn't go away. For the President, it threatened to drive a wedge between key constituency groups. For the Democratic nominee, it threatened to weaken him in important states.

Mr. Mondale's strategists had been hoping that his radio speech last weekend and his address to an international convention of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish service organization, would be the last of the matter for a while. In both, the former Vice President called for a rigid separation of church and state. But, prodded by Southern Democrats worried about conservative Protestant voting power in their region, Mr. Mondale affirmed that "there's a relationship" between religion and politics.

Even as Mr. Mondale struggled for position on the issue, his advisers were eager for him to disengage and move on to what they regard as more promising political terrain—the Federal deficit, projected to reach \$200 billion under Mr. Reagan's policies. Tomorrow, Mr. Mondale plans to unveil his deficit reduction package and challenge Mr. Reagan to do the same. The move is part of a broader offensive designed to define the Mondale candidacy as rooted in issues about which Mr. Reagan has little knowledge or concern. In settling on this approach, Mondale aides working feverishly all week to revitalize the Democrat's campaign acknowledged that if the Presidential election remains a contest of personality and image, the incumbent is bound to win it.

Mr. Reagan's mastery of political theater was seldom so powerfully demonstrated as on Labor Day, when the traditional opening-day campaign kickoffs mirrored

the differences in the two candidates' political standing. The President drew a crowd of 40,000 or more to a park in Orange County, Calif., the heartland of the conservative movement that brought him to political prominence. After reviewing the accomplishments of his first term, the beaming Mr. Reagan added, "You ain't seen nothing yet."

Across the continent in New York, Mr. Mondale started out a coast-to-coast blitz that fizzled. He failed to draw a crowd to a parade in New York City. Moving on to Merrill, Wis., he and the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro, were greeted by rain. At the last event of the day, in Long Beach, Calif., his speech was spoiled by a bad microphone. Poorly advanced and poorly attended, the Democrat's kickoff events were portrayed in television and print accounts as physical symbols of a campaign trailing the Republican's by at least 12 to 15 percentage points in most public opinion polls.

Mr. Reagan's lead was comfortable enough for White House aides to advise him to abandon the so-called Mondale bashing that drew negative reviews for his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention last month. Mr. Reagan took the high road all week, leaving it to his main surrogate, Vice President Bush, to warn that Mr. Mondale's election would return the nation to "the nightmare of Jimmy Carter." Mr. Bush also announced that he was willing to debate Mrs. Ferraro, who provided a ray of hope for the Democrats by demonstrating that the controversy over her family finances did not diminish her ability to draw enthusiastic crowds. (How women campaign, page 2.)

## Shifting Worries

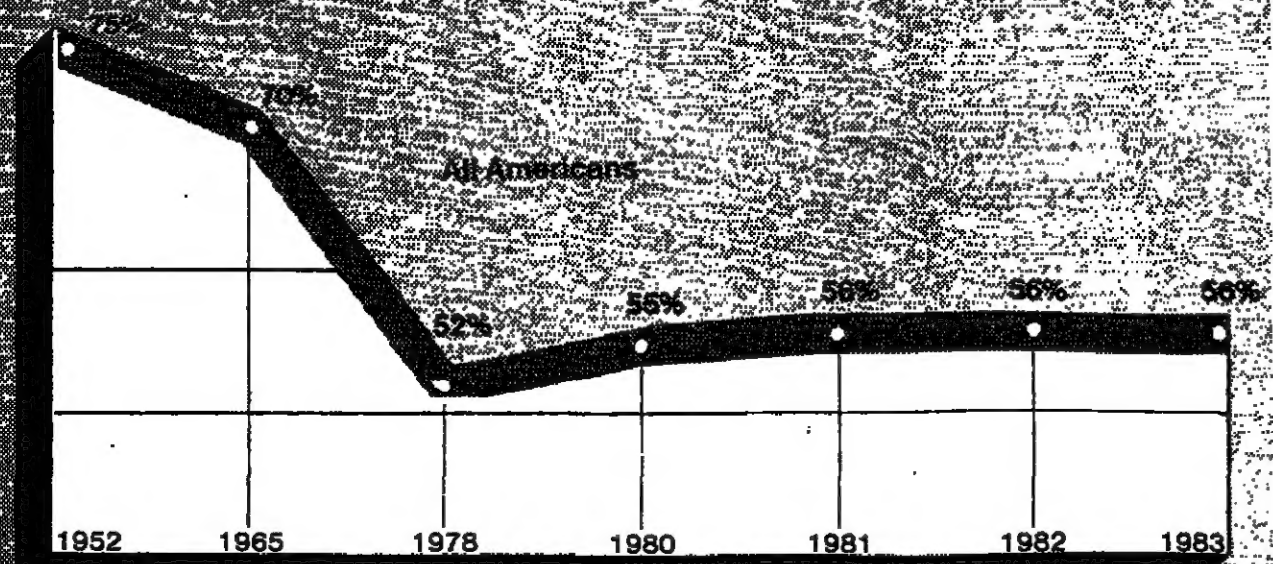
As the candidates hit the trail, their strategists were trying to assess the impact, in votes, of the religion-in-politics issue. A tip-off to the worries of White House strategists could be found in Mr. Reagan's B'nai B'rith speech. He affirmed his belief in the "wall in our Constitution separating church and state." But only last month, he asserted that politics and religion are "necessarily related" and denounced opponents of a constitutional amendment allowing prayer in public schools as "intolerant" of religion.

Friday, Mr. Reagan blamed the press for distorting his original remarks and asserted that "antireligionists," rather than his Administration, were trying to break down the constitutional "wall."

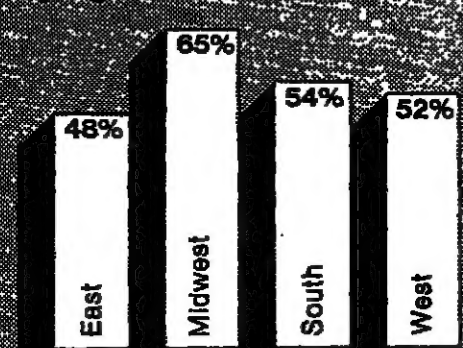
This shift in tone reflected concern among Republican strategists that the President, in reaching out to fundamentalist Protestants on the issue of school prayer, risked alienating other parts of his conservative coalition. Pollsters point out that

## The Influence of religion

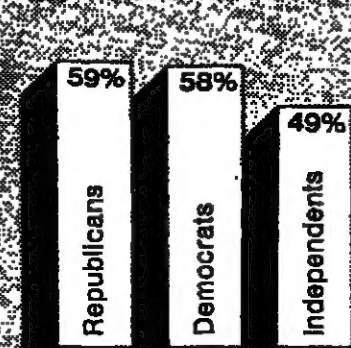
Percentage of people who say religion is "very important" in their lives



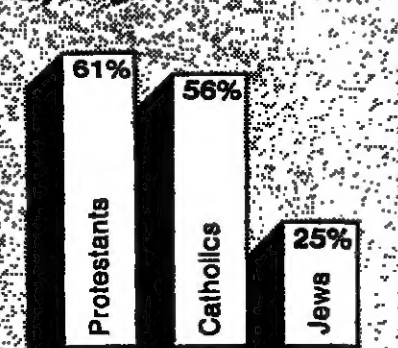
By region



By political affiliation



By religion



many of the younger voters who are drawn to Mr. Reagan on economic issues are liberal or libertarian on social issues, and made nervous by suggestions that Mr. Reagan or political allies such as the Rev. Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority would be able to dictate national social policy on abortion or religion. These are "the kind of voters we need to win," said a Mondale adviser. Among such voters, he added, the religion issue "cuts dramatically against Reagan."

Even so, Mr. Mondale is constrained from hammering the religion issue as hard as he might have liked for maximum advantage with what is called the Yuppie vote. To do so would emphasize his opposition to legally mandated prayer in the schools, and this, in turn, could weaken his already shaky standing in the South, the region where his strategists want to break the G.O.P.'s potential stranglehold on electoral votes. A look at the electoral map points up the bleakness of his political situation at this stage. Reagan strategists believe their "Sun Belt megastate base" is secure in Florida, Texas and California. Mondale strategists believe that Texas, with its large Hispanic and black votes, represents their best chance. But given Mr. Reagan's lock on the West, they recognize he must also virtually sweep the Northeast and Middle West and pick off some solid Reagan states in the South or border region to win.

Examination of the electoral map, analysis of constituency-group politics or discussion of the religion all point, finally, to the same question: Can Mr. Mondale win? Political

professionals on both sides, knowing the uncertainties of their business, still say it is possible. There is even a consensus on how—through televised debates with Mr. Reagan, negotiations on the format and frequency of which are under way. Indeed, most Democrats and some Republican analysts believe that the White House's effort to limit the number of debates and the access of reporters to the President reflects a belief that verbal gaffes are the most serious remaining threat to his re-election. The anxiety of the Democrats was reflected last week in the exhortations of House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. to Mr. Mondale the day before he traveled up Capitol Hill to meet with party leaders. "He's got to stop acting like a gentleman," Mr. O'Neill said, "and come out fighting."



"To ask the state to enforce the religious life of our people is to betray a telling cynicism about the American people."

Walter F. Mondale, at B'nai B'rith convention in Washington.



"What some would do is to twist the concept of freedom of religion to mean freedom against religion."

President Reagan, at American Legion convention in Salt Lake City.

## Kremlin Provides a New Puzzle

**K**ONSTANTIN U. Chernenko's television appearance last week in the midst of rumors of illness, helped clear up one uncertainty about the Soviet leadership, but another was almost immediately created by the replacement of Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov, Chief of Staff of the armed forces, by his deputy, Marshal Sergei F. Akhromeyev.

Marshal Ogarkov is to get a "new appointment," according to the official announcement, which went no further than that. The imprecision plus the cursory treatment of Marshal Ogarkov in the press led the rest of the world to believe that a powerful figure who had seemed destined to rise even higher in the Soviet hierarchy had in fact been demoted. The marshal has been associated with Moscow's hard line, publicly defending the downing of the Korean airliner last year, for example, but observers could only guess at what the change meant in terms of foreign policy.

One person with a closer interest than ever in that policy was Erich Honecker, the East German Communist leader. Because of Soviet objections, Mr. Honecker last week had to call off a visit to West Germany, but he made it clear that he considered this only a temporary setback in his policy of détente with Bonn. His spokesmen said the visit had merely been postponed and Mr. Honecker told a visiting Japanese delegation that ties with the West served peace. Moscow had strenuously objected to what would have been the first visit by an East German leader to West Germany. It did not fit in with the Russian sourness toward the West in general and the anger against the West German deployment of American cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in particular. As if to remind the East Germans what camp they were in, Moscow beefed up its arsenal of medium-range nuclear missiles in East Germany in May, to Mr. Honecker's discomfort.

Mr. Chernenko, during the tele-

vised awards ceremony for three Soviet astronauts, repeated his call for talks with the United States over space weapons. The proposal is in an impasse; Washington has agreed to the talks if they can be extended to medium-range and strategic arms, but Moscow has refused to end its boycott of discussions on those topics that began with the missile deployment in Western Europe last year. Contacts are not completely broken, however; the United Nations General Assembly will give Secretary of State George P. Shultz a chance to talk on Sept. 26 with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, although little progress is expected.

Far from joining in the Soviet-led chorus of denunciation of Western rearmament, the East German leader has sought to limit the damage to relations. His country's ties to West Germany have been paying off in terms of investments, bank loans and subsidies. And, like Hungary, another relatively prosperous Communist state, East Germany sees itself as a promoter of European peace.



Konstantin U. Chernenko, live from Moscow last week.

## Senate Leaders Will Try for Compromise Again This Week

## Defense Bill Boggled Down in Symbols

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

**A**S Congress was beginning its short pre-election session last week, the Senate Republican leader wearily emerged from a meeting with the Democratic Speaker of the House. They had intended to discuss conferees who would attend a later "summit conference," where the two-month deadlock over military spending would be resolved. But after his meeting with Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee joked: "This may have been the summit."

Most Congressional conflicts over numbers are readily resolved by splitting the difference. But the dispute over defense is largely symbolic, reflecting philosophical divisions between the Democrats and Republicans and the effect of a Presidential campaign on a Capitol Hill fracas.

"There's a real nexus between the two," said Representative Thomas J. Downey, New York Democrat, a leading figure in the debate. "This is not only symbolic, but members of the House view this as a watershed. It's about the Administration's failure to come to grips with any rational defense plan."

For the Republicans, a central theme of the 1984 campaign is "peace through strength." They contend that the Soviet Union will agree to arms control only when the United States regains military superiority. For the Democrats, the theme more nearly resembles "strength through peace." They contend, among other things, that the President's military spending programs have sapped the nation's economic strength and saddled taxpayers with huge deficits.

At the same time, however, the Republicans seek to allay concerns that they are trigger-happy and overly reliant upon military solutions to global problems, while the Democrats fear being portrayed as weak on defense and thus jeopardizing the peace.

These disparate political strategies have collided in the military budget debate on Capitol Hill. The situation has bogged down the military authorization bill, which approves programs, the military appropriations bill, which approves funding, and the overall Budget Resolution for the fiscal year 1985, which begins next month.

In this case, the Democratic-controlled House sought a 3 1/2 percent increase in military spending after inflation, or \$285.7 billion, while the Re-

publican-controlled Senate sought a 7.8 percent increase, or \$299 billion. House Democrats then offered to compromise with a 5 percent increase, or \$292.2 billion, but the Senate Republicans, who had persuaded President Reagan to reduce his initial request for a 13 percent increase, insisted on the 7.8 percent figure.

Defense, of course, isn't the only issue facing Congress. To avoid a post-election session, it is generally agreed that the House and Senate have to agree on several big Government spending bills and an increase in the debt limit. Conferees are likely to take up a proposed overhaul of immigration laws, but the differences between the versions of the two houses may be irreconcilable.

But it's defense that will dominate the Congressional agenda. A central issue in the debate involves the MX strategic missile. The House approved 15 additional MX missiles, but only if Congress voted again to approve the weapons, while

the Senate approved 21 more missiles, with no strings attached.

Ronald Reagan made national security a principal issue of his Presidential campaign in 1980, when Americans were hostages in Iran and the Russians had marched into Afghanistan. The Republicans argued that the Democrats' austere military budgets had eroded international respect for the United States.

This year, Republicans again contend that the Russians respect only military strength, and that a strong posture is needed to bring them around to arms-control talks. In keeping with that, Mr. Reagan last week termed the development of antisatellite (ASAT) weapons "a moral obligation." "Some call this Star Wars," he told the American Legion convention in Salt Lake City. "I call it prudent policy and common sense."

The President says that he seeks accords to reduce substantially the number of nuclear weapons. He contends that Moscow won intolerable military advantages over Washington in the treaty-sanctioned arms race of the 1970's, and is determined to reverse that trend.

The Democrats, for their part, charge that the Republicans never met a weapons system they didn't like. "He is the first President of either party since the bomb went off never to have negotiated arms controls," Mr. Mondale said of Mr. Reagan at the American Legion convention. "He opposed every arms control agreement that Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter reached. He has conducted an arms race on earth, and now he wants to extend it into the heavens. He even makes jokes about nuclear war. But nuclear war is not funny."

Mr. Mondale has proposed a moratorium on the testing of ASAT weapons, on the deployment of nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missiles and on underground nuclear explosions. Furthermore, he considers the MX missile too vulnerable.

The Democrats take particular umbrage at Republican charges that they seek to "drastically curtail" military spending. "I know of no Democrat who wants to cut defense," the Speaker said last week.

In their unwillingness to compromise, Senate Republicans have followed the lead of the White House, which seems to fear that its Capitol Hill allies will make a separate peace with the Democrats. Last week, there were indications that at least a partial compromise could be in the wind, perhaps including a delay on a showdown vote on the MX until next year. Mr. Baker and Mr. O'Neill are scheduled to meet again this week to try to resolve the deadlock.

The Tory tide  
sweeps Canada

3

Brazil: Liberation  
theology in  
practice

4



# The Nation

## Senate Hearing For Meese Is Off for '84

Even if a special prosecutor should say there is no further reason to investigate Edwin Meese 3d, the Senate apparently won't take up his nomination as Attorney General this year. Last week, amid a flurry of conflicting reports about the status of the prosecutor's inquiry of Mr. Meese's personal finances, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee scratched the nomination from his panel's agenda.

A spokesman for the chairman, Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, said his boss didn't believe that an election year provided "the proper forum for serious consideration of an important nomination such as this." Last spring's nomination of Mr. Meese, who is Presidential counselor, attracted considerable fire from Judiciary Committee Democrats, who raised questions about his financial involvement with people who later received Federal jobs. An independent counsel, Jacob A. Stein, was subsequently appointed to look into Mr. Meese's affairs, and Mr. Thurmond delayed further action on the nomination until completion of the Stein inquiry.

Last week, The Los Angeles Times, quoting unidentified sources, said Mr. Stein would this week issue a report that cleared Mr. Meese of any wrongdoing. But Mr. Meese's attorney, Leonard Garment, said that he wasn't aware of any planned wrap-up report. "We're still furnishing information to Mr. Stein," he said. On Friday, President Reagan said that, barring the unexpected, he would resubmit the nomination if he's re-elected.

## Tinkering With Deregulation

The airlines may need a little regulation to get deregulation back on a smooth course, the Reagan Administration warned last week. With airport delays surging, the Federal Aviation Administration told the airlines to spread out flights at six busy airports, or face Government control of scheduling. One out of every 10 flights nationwide — 44,372 in all — was at least 15 minutes late in August, a rise of more than 5,000 from July.

The F.A.A. briefing came as airline officials met last week in Crystal Springs, Va., and worked out changes for Atlanta, Denver and Chicago's O'Hare. The plans fall short of the agency's demand for ceilings on the number of flights. This weekend, the airlines were trying to reach agreement on flight loads at Newark, LaGuardia and Kennedy Airports. The F.A.A. had said it wanted to reduce Newark's peak-time arrivals and departures from more than 90 now to 68 an hour and raise LaGuardia's peak load to 68 from 60. Yesterday, however, an agency official said the F.A.A. proposal for Newark was not "hard and fast."

Eastern Airlines, the organizer of the meetings and LaGuardia's largest carrier, has called for fewer flights at Newark, the hub for its rival, People Express Airlines. People Express and New Jersey officials criticized the idea.

On Capitol Hill last week, airline representatives told a Senate subcommittee that the delays are largely the F.A.A.'s fault. They called on the agency to hire more air traffic controllers and relax safety rules. "Simply put, the Government should stay out of airline scheduling," said Paul R. Ignatius, president of the industry's Air Transport Association. The F.A.A. plans to hire more than 1,000 new controllers.

## Applied Math On Protectionism

Bill Brock, President Reagan's trade representative, explained last week's decision to deny protection to American copper producers this way: restrictions on imports, which come mostly from third world debtor countries, would, Mr. Brock said, "complicate efforts to maintain the stability of the international financial system."

Analysts inside the Administration and out pointed to several additional calculations in the rejection of an International Trade Commission finding that copper was hurting enough to be due protection. On the purely economic level, the 8 to 10 cents a pound increase in domestic copper prices that protection would bring might well cost more jobs in the American fabricating sector (which employs 150,000 workers) than it would save in the mining sector (which employs 25,000). On the electoral level, they noted, copper fabricators live in states with many more electoral votes, and ones where President Reagan is less strong politically, than do copper miners, who are clustered in the Rocky Mountain states.

And then there is the question of image. The next big decision on a

finding of the I.T.C., the quasi-judicial Federal body empaneled to make recommendations in trade cases, must be made by Sept. 24, and it is on steel. In making the copper announcement early in the month — eight days before a legal deadline — some analysts said, Mr. Reagan might have given himself a few extra days of credit as a defender of free trade. The commission also recommended protection in steel — with the caveat that the ailing industry take steps to modernize. But this time the Administration is expected to follow through. Those who predict that will be the case note that steel-producing states account for half the votes in the Electoral College.

The steelmakers point to another set of numbers in making their case. As last week's report on unemployment showed, despite economic recovery, the number of jobs in steel has fallen, from 344,000 in August 1983 to 336,000 in August 1984. The nation's overall unemployment rate last month remained at the 7.4 percent level it reached in July.

## A 'Hit List' For E.P.A.

Critics who complain that the Reagan Administration is overly sensitive to industry pressure got a fresh batch of ammunition last week. In 1981, the White House sent along to the Environmental Protection Agency a list of career officials that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States wanted sacked, according to a Congressional document released last month.

The list urged the removal of eight E.P.A. officials, including Walter Barber, a career employee who was interim head of the agency before Anne McGill Burford was sworn in as administrator. The existence of the list was disclosed in notes that John Daniel, Mrs. Burford's chief of staff, provided the House Energy and Commerce oversight subcommittee last year during its investigation of E.P.A. His notes were included in a hearing record published by the panel.

Mr. Daniel, who said his account was based in large part on phone conversations with Craig Fuller, a Presidential assistant, said Mr. Fuller reported that the "hit list" had been sent to the White House by the Chamber and then forwarded to Mrs. Burford. (Documents obtained last week from the Chamber indicated that the group also provided the White House with names of officials in several other agencies, including the Departments of Labor and Justice, who were regarded as "unsympathetic" to the Reagan Administration.) Though Mr. Fuller was said to have confided that the Administration "is not acknowledging this" — that is, the list — it was in fact discussed at a meeting of senior Administration figures, according to Mr. Daniel's notes. That meeting, Mr. Daniel reported, took place in March 1983, at a time when a half dozen Congressional inquiries were under way, focusing on, among other things, whether partisan considerations determined who in E.P.A. was hired or fired or demoted.

Mr. Daniel said Mrs. Burford — who eventually was forced to resign — had ordered the list "trashed." Mr. Barber, who later stepped down to take a job in private industry, said last week that he hadn't been forced out.

## G.O.P. Challenge In Alabama

Can Albert Lee Smith hitch another ride to Washington on Ronald Reagan's coattails? That will be up to Alabama's voters to decide come November, when they have yet another opportunity to vote for Mr. Smith, who last week won the Republican Party's nomination for the Senate seat now occupied by Democrat Howell Heflin.

Four years ago, due in large measure to President Reagan's popularity, Mr. Smith was elected to the House of Representatives; in that same election, Jeremiah Denton became the state's first Republican Senator in this century. Mr. Smith, who subsequently lost his House seat in 1982, conceded that beating Mr. Heflin, a former Alabama Supreme Court chief justice, won't be easy. "I know it's an uphill battle," said Mr. Smith, who whipped three other Republicans in last week's primary, "but we will climb the hill."

Republicans in Georgia settled on a candidate who is contemplating an even stiffer climb. John M. Hicks, a substitute teacher, won a runoff election and the right to face the incumbent Democrat, Sam Nunn. Mr. Nunn, who is seeking his third term, is regarded as so formidable that many leaders of Georgia's Republican Party have already endorsed him (and in Tuesday's voting, not a single Republican vote was registered in 41 of the state's 159 counties).

Caroline Rand Herron, Michael Wright and Carlyle C. Douglas

## Freshman Democrat's House Seat Is a Prime Republican Target

### Illinois Race Illustrates G.O.P. Hopes

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

MOLINE, Ill. — Ken McMillan has already traveled this year to Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles, courtesy of the United States Chamber of Commerce. At each stop, chamber officials have introduced him to managers of political action committees interested in contributing to business-oriented candidates for Congress. And last week, Representative Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, announced that Mr. McMillan would receive the national party's maximum contribution, almost \$50,000 in cash and services. In all, Mr. McMillan estimates his war chest will reach almost \$500,000.

The recipient of all this largesse is the Republican challenger for Congress in the 17th District of Illinois, which is centered on this old river and railroad town at the western edge of the state. The seat was held by the Republicans for 18 years before it was captured by Democrat Lane Evans two years ago, and both parties acknowledge the contest has become one of the tightest Congressional races in the country.

That would not have been a particularly significant political fact until recently. The Democrats hold a 100-seat margin in the House, and most experts estimated that the Republicans could gain no more than eight seats in November. But last week, Democratic lawmakers returning to Washington from a three-week recess expressed concern that Walter F. Mondale might fare so poorly in November that their ranks would be more severely depleted. Some harked back to 1980 when the Reagan sweep cost the Democrats 33 seats in the House. With an additional two dozen or so seats this time, the Republicans might again pay court to conservative Southern Democrats and rebuild the bipartisan force that dominated the House during the first two years of the Reagan Presidency.

Accordingly, the contest for the 17th District has taken on a new urgency. Mr. McMillan's challenge demonstrates how the national parties have centralized much of the campaign business in Washington. Earlier this year, he attended a training seminar for Congressional candidates in the capital, and field organizers from national headquarters visit the district regularly. Almost every day, the candidate's computer spews out reams of campaign material from Washington: background research, opinion polls, even ready-made press releases. When Mr. McMillan held a press conference last week to charge that Representative Evans favored tax increases for middle-income voters, he was following a script used by Republicans across the country.

But this race also shows how hard it is for any challenger to dislodge an incumbent. Mr. Evans



The New York Times/Paul Rosenthal

was a 32-year-old legal services lawyer with no political experience when he beat Mr. McMillan two years ago, and from the beginning of his term he has used his office effectively to perform services, win friends and broaden his base.

The Democrat has held about 25 community meetings to discuss economic development, the leading issue in an area where unemployment re-

Another in a series of articles from an Illinois Congressional district

mains high and the recovery has yet to arrive. He regularly appears as host on local cable television shows, and spends many Wednesday nights in his Washington office, talking to constituents who call in with problems.

One of his campaign commercials features three voters praising the Congressman for helping them fathom the Federal bureaucracy. Another closes with the young lawmaker at his desk

late at night saying, "When you're new, you have to work harder."

Mr. McMillan said, with some irritation, "When you ask people about their Congressman, they say, 'He came to my parade.'"

In Washington, the fight for control of the House of Representatives is often viewed as a clash of broad national issues, and the 17th District race reflects some of these concerns. Mr. McMillan says that Mr. Evans voted against President Reagan 90 percent of the time, more than any other Congressman. Mr. Evans retorts that he provides a healthy balance to a popular President; he cites, for example, his early opposition to sending the marines to Lebanon.

Last week, a group called the Middle American Conservative Political Action Committee accused Mr. Evans of taking a "pro-Soviet" stand on foreign policy. The Congressman immediately replied that his critics were using "McCarthyite tactics."

But viewing the election from the perspective of one of the favorite adages of Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the Speaker of the House: "All politics is local." National strategists tell Republican candidates to trumpet the slogan "America is Back," but this district is still suffering from slumping markets in farm exports and farm machinery, and Mr. McMillan cannot count on the upbeat mood the President is trying to evoke.

Moreover, the Republican admits that he lost two years ago in large part because he defeated a popular Republican incumbent, Tom Railsback, in the primary, and came across as a "right-wing monster" to many voters. This year he has made peace with Republican moderates and has softened his image by stressing his "sensitivity" to the needs of people. He wears sweaters now, and his commercials feature soft music and scenes of him flipping pancakes.

Mr. Evans, too, has sought to project themes of "warmth" and "caring." One television spot features his grandmother serving him homemade biscuits, and another ends with his boyish cackle silhouetted at sunset against a shuttered railroad yard.

But the big questions hanging over this district two months before the election can be summed up in one word: coattails. How well will President Reagan run in this area, which includes his boyhood home of Dixon? And to what extent does the President's personal popularity continue to be transferable?

## Ferraro Isn't the First to Face Special Problems



Bess Meyerson, left, seeking Senate nomination in 1980, and Senator Paula Hawkins of Florida, far left; Geraldine A. Ferraro, top, campaigning for the Vice Presidency.

he making with a blue blazer?"

A dark suit is a uniform of sorts for men. The closest choice women have to a uniform is a female version. Even by wearing that, a woman is making a statement. Margaret Heckler, now Secretary of Health and Human Services, wore only gray flannel suits in her first campaign for Congress in 1966. Her motive, she said at the time, was to "blend into the gray Massachusetts sky and force the voters to identify me with the issues and forget the fact that I'm a woman."

Bess Meyerson wore little make-up and dark business suits during her 1980 campaign for the Democratic nomination for the Senate in New York in order to play down her Miss America image. "Voters saw Bess as being too glamorous," said media consultant David Garth, who ran Miss Meyerson's campaign. "That hurt her, especially in contrast with Elizabeth Holtzman's stern, solid image."

### Competency Testing

Voters' doubts about a woman's competence are less easily dealt with. It was 14 years ago that Dr. Edgar Berman, Hubert H. Humphrey's personal physician, asked: "Suppose we had a menopausal President who had to make the decision on the Bay of Pigs?" Such questions are not asked out loud any more, but women still work hard to establish themselves as decisive. Pat Fullinwider, a Democrat from Arizona who ran for Congress in 1976, was specific on that tactic at the time: "I cite statistics right down to the decimal point," Mrs. Fullinwider said. "This is an old debate trick and much more effective than rounding off figures. You need all kinds of little gimmicks to establish credibility."

In some areas, however, women running for office need not work as hard to gain credibility. A great asset is the willingness media consultants see in voters to assume a woman is compassionate. Senator Paula Hawkins, for example, successfully used the slogan "A Fighter for Florida" in 1980 because, as her campaign manager put it, "She was, in effect, offering everything. She was promising to fight, but it was always understood that she could be gentle as well."

But perhaps a woman's greatest asset is that a lingering sense of what some call chivalry and others call paternalism makes them difficult to run against. "It's hard for men to find the best strategy for campaigning against a woman," Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Republican of Kansas, said after Mrs. Ferraro's nomination. "It's like hitting a marshmallow. Either you appear too aggressive or as though you can't handle it." In fact, Senator Kassebaum used her sex to advantage in her 1978 Senate race, reminding voters that she would be the only woman in the Senate and thus more likely to be heard.

Successful campaigns against women, most political strategists say, must highlight the voters' wariness of women in office, but do so subtly and indirectly. Though he chafes at the title, the media strategist known to be expert in the area is Robert Squier.

In 1979, William Winter was trailing Lt. Gov. Evelyn Gandy in the Mississippi Democratic gubernatorial primary. Mr. Squier, who says he is "absolutely a feminist," created a campaign that, in his words, "reinforced all the doubts voters would have about women." While Mrs. Gandy showed spots featuring her in a field surrounded by children, Mr. Squier filmed now Governor Winter in a swarm of tanks. "The governor is Commander in Chief of the National Guard," the candidate's voice said over the roar. "He's ultimately responsible for how it performs." Then the slogan "The toughest job in Mississippi" filled the screen.

"That," said Mr. Squier, "is how you run against a woman."

## In Politics, Women Run By a Different Set of Rules

By LISA BELKIN

As the first woman to run on a major party's Presidential ticket, Geraldine A. Ferraro is unique. That does not mean, however, that she is unprecedented.

She is not the first candidate faced with the mixture of advantages and handicaps common to women, nor is she the first to cause comment with her style of dress, to be accused of gaining a nomination merely because of her sex, to be more thoroughly scrutinized than her male counterparts or to be asked for a recipe.

How Mrs. Ferraro handles such topics will change the rules for women running for office in the future. How others handled them in the past have influenced the rules for her.

"Women have always run somewhat differ-

ently from men," Jill Buckley, a media adviser who works in Washington, said recently. Mrs. Buckley worked for such candidates as Gloria Schaffer, a Connecticut state official who ran for the Senate in 1976 and is now a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and Senators Patrick J. Leahy and Carl Levin, Democrats of Vermont and Michigan. When women run, Mrs. Buckley said, "Voters perceive them differently. They have to address those perceptions."

"Yes, we run differently than men," said Representative Patricia Schroeder, who during her first campaign in 1972 was continually asked who would care for her children if she went to Washington. A woman, she said last month, runs for office "to discuss the issues, and is scrutinized for her hairstyle or her clothing. You'd never hear someone ask 'why is that man wearing the same shirt three days in a row?' Or 'What statement is

Getting Close To a Coalition For Israel

Mourning a Killed In Ch



# The World



With apologies: Emperor Hirohito of Japan (right), welcoming South Korea's President Chun Doo Hwan to Tokyo last week, expressed regret for Japan's actions during colonial rule of Korea from 1910 to 1945. The South Koreans later met with Government officials to discuss North Korea, trade rivalries and discrimination against Koreans in Japan.

## Getting Close To a Coalition For Israel

For a time last week, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir thought agreement was imminent on a grand coalition to govern Israel. But complaints from partners on both sides forced the two party leaders into further difficult negotiations, suggesting that the coalition, if there is to be one, could face a rocky future. Continuing dissatisfaction within the ranks of both major blocs added to the problems. Mr. Peres, whose 42-day mandate expires next Sunday, hopes to submit a Cabinet for parliamentary endorsement by Wednesday.

As outlined by Israeli radio and newspapers, the country would be run by a 10-man "inner Cabinet" equally divided between Mr. Peres's Labor alignment and Mr. Shamir's Likud. Mr. Peres would be Prime Minister for the first 25 months, with Mr. Shamir as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Assuming the accord lasted, the two leaders would exchange roles for the second 25 months.

As for the other major ministries, Labor's reportedly would include Defense, Education, Health, Communications, Police, Immigrant Absorption and Science and Agriculture. Likud would get Finance, Justice, Housing, Transportation, Labor and Welfare, Energy, Tourism and Trade and Industry.

Some Labor supporters objected to giving all the economic positions to Likud, which they blamed for letting inflation reach 400 percent, while unemployment soared and foreign reserves have dwindled. Last month, Mr. Peres said, reserves fell \$12 million while the Government printed \$400 million worth of Israeli shekels.

There was criticism also of the reported choice of Ariel Sharon for Trade and Industry Minister. Mr. Sharon was dismissed as Defense Minister in 1982 after he was found negligent by a commission investigating the killings in Palestinian refugee camps by right-wing Lebanese Christians. Critics said he could exploit the industry portfolio to promote Jewish settlements in the West Bank as he once did as Agriculture Minister.

Mr. Shamir and Mr. Peres, citing economic constraints, have indicated they will confine development of the settlements to those already approved.

In addition, smaller parties were expected to receive half a dozen Cabinet positions, but if Likud and Labor can stay together, the leverage of the junior partners will be greatly reduced.

## Mourning a Priest Killed In Chile

Chile's military Government last week cracked down anew on dissent but the shooting of a French missionary priest created a new rallying point for President Augusto Pinochet's opposition at home and abroad. Thousands of mourners filled the Roman Catholic cathedral in downtown Santiago for the funeral of the Rev. André Jarlan, one of nine people killed during two days of anti-Government demonstrations.

More than 140 people, including Rodolfo Seguel, a labor leader, were injured by police beatings. Hundreds of others were arrested as activists sang the national anthem in defiance of a Government ban on demonstrations. As the battle raged, streets were barricaded with rocks and burning tires. Thousands of shops and trucking operations closed, but a general strike did not take hold.

The Government took steps to censor magazines that publicized the protest and to ban news broadcasts on two opposition radio stations.

Father Jarlan, who lived alongside his parishioners in a rundown neighborhood, was hit by a bullet fired into his apartment from the street. Interior Minister Sergio Onofre Jarpa said the bullet did not come from a police gun, but Mario Sharpe, head of the six-party opposition Democratic Alliance, suggested "coldly

executed" police action was to blame. "Without a repressive presence, we would not have to lament the death," said Enrique Palet, an official of the Vicariate of Solidarity, a church human rights organization. The French Embassy demanded an investigation.

The State Department, regretting the violence and loss of life, called for "dialogue and communication" to bring "steady and concrete progress toward a transition to democracy" in Chile.

## Car Bomb Mars Holiday in Beirut

In Beirut, where nearly everyone seems to have enemies, a car bomb last week marred the Muslim feast of Al Adha marking the end of the annual period of pilgrimages to Mecca.

The explosion narrowly missed Education Minister Selim al-Hoss, a former Prime Minister, as his car arrived at the residence of Sheikh Hassan Khaled, the Sunni Muslim religious leader. The Shiite leader, Sheikh Mohammed Mahdi Shamseddin was also present. They were not hurt but Mr. Hoss's driver, two motorcyclists and a woman walking by were killed. Mr. Hoss was filling in for Prime Minister Rashid Karami who was out of town.

Later in the week, the United States vetoed a Lebanese-requested resolution in the United Nations Security Council that called on Israel to "lift all restrictions" recently imposed on Lebanese civilians traveling to southern Lebanon. Mr. Karami said Washington had "once again protected the aggressor" and accused Israel of "Nazi" tactics in the south. American officials said the measure was "myopic" because it did not mention Syrian troops in northern Lebanon — where Mr. Karami, who is supported by Syria, lives. The only aim of the Security Council debate, an Israeli official charged, "was to slander Israel."

## Fabius Stays On Course

When Laurent Fabius was Minister of Industry in Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy's Government, he helped devise a plan to modernize France's industry and reduce the burden of subsidies that had helped to keep such sectors as steel and coal alive. Whether through streamlining or recession, some 400,000 jobs have been lost since the Socialists came to power in 1981. The Mauroy Government became such a political liability to President François Mitterrand that he replaced it in July with one headed by Mr. Fabius.

Last week, the new Prime Minister made his first television appearance, just after Frenchmen had returned from their August vacations to face up to what he called the economic crisis. Mr. Fabius made it clear that he intended to pursue the same policies and pictured the stakes in dramatic terms. It is modernization or retreat, he said, and retreat means that "France in 20 years will no longer exist as a great power."

Mr. Fabius said the country would modernize "in a human way." Socialist talk for limiting the damage to individuals as much as possible. But for more thousands of workers threatened with layoffs, the stakes seemed no less dramatic. Mr. Fabius's talk of better education and training seemed vague and unpromising, particularly to older workers.

Faced with the prospect of more labor unrest, the Government has retreated on other fronts. Its efforts to gain more control of private, mainly Catholic, schools has aroused stormy opposition, including some of the biggest street demonstrations in years. Last week, it abandoned its idea of requiring private school teachers to get Government accreditation.

The Government also seemed willing to drop a proposal for a constitutional amendment allowing referendums on matters affecting public liberties. For critics, the school proposal was one such matter.

Henry Giniger, Milt Freudenheim and Carlyle C. Douglas

## Even Quebec Separatists Were Talking Cooperation Last Week

# Canadian Tories Win A Chance to Foster Unity

By DOUGLAS MARTIN

OTTAWA — The overwhelming electoral victory last week of Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative Party has aroused hopes that the new Prime Minister may be able to make progress on his promise to draw together this normally fractious country.

For one, René Lévesque, the separatist Premier of Quebec, who has contributed more fractiousness than most, vowed to forget old squabbles with Ottawa and try to cooperate within the federal system. Mr. Lévesque, a bitter foe of former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, did not renounce his dream of independence. "But in the meantime," he said, "living in the system we have, there's no reason why we shouldn't try to make it work better."

Mr. Lévesque's thinking was clearly influenced by the size of the Conservative vote in Quebec, where the party captured 58 of the province's 75 seats. In the old House of Commons, they had one seat to the Liberals' 74. Nationally, the Tories won 211 of the 282 seats in the House, the most ever won by a Canadian party. The Liberals, who held 135 seats in the last Parliament, were reduced to 40, their fewest ever. The New Democratic Party has 30, two less than before. One independent was elected.

Members of both Mr. Lévesque's Parti Québécois and the provincial Liberal Party — often at odds with its federal counterpart — had quietly worked for Mr. Mulroney's victory. A rapprochement with Quebec would represent a great achievement for Mr. Mulroney, who won his party's leadership on the promise he would raise the party's standing in Quebec. In particular, Mr. Mulroney, a Quebecer, would like to get the province's signature on the country's two-year-old Constitution, something Mr. Trudeau was unable to do. This may not be possible, however, until Quebec elects a Liberal Government dedicated to keeping the province "in Canada."

The Quebec electoral shift may nonetheless herald a fundamental change in Ottawa's relationship to the provinces, which wield more power than American states and often attract a stronger sense of identification and loyalty among Canadian citizens than does the federal government. Eight of Canada's 10 provinces are governed by the Tories, and federal Conservatives

argue they will be better able to end the divisiveness between the two levels of government than were the Liberals, who hold power in no province. A test may come when Mr. Mulroney holds a promised conference with the premiers on the ailing economy, which suffers from unemployment of more than 11 percent.

Nowhere would conciliatory moves be more welcome than in the four western provinces, which will now be even more overwhelmingly Tory than before the election, with the Conservatives holding 58 of 77 seats, an increase of 10. This raises the possibility that the bitter wars over such things as the pricing of gas and oil produced in the West and the cost of grain transport might subside. Under Mr. Trudeau, the situation had deteriorated to the point where Peter Lougheed, the popular Premier of Alberta, took to referring to the Ottawa Government as if it were an oppressive foreign power. However, Mr. Mulroney's Conservative predecessor, Joe Clark, also had his troubles with Mr. Lougheed.

The magnitude of the Conservative victory has sparked speculation that the Tories will hold power for the rest of the century, with the resulting decline of the Liberals in the manner of the British Liberals in the 1930's. According to this theory, the New Democrats, who enjoy strong union support, would rise in the manner of the British Labor Party.

Most analysts do not consider this likely. They find it difficult to imagine where the New Demo-

crats could substantially better their position. Moreover, the key to the Tory victory did not seem to lie in presenting the party as a conservative alternative, as President Reagan did in the United States. Rather, the party systematically co-opted Liberal positions, such as strong support for the financially battered system of national health insurance. Simultaneously, the Conservatives pictured themselves as the party of change. The result, in effect, was that Canadians got the best of both worlds — largely Liberal policies that they have supported in the past and the pleasure of voting the rascals out.

This is a different Tory party from that of its founder, Sir John A. Macdonald, who considered the Government's principal function was making Canada distinct from the United States through such mechanisms as tariff barriers. It is also a far cry from the party of John Diefenbaker, who led the Conservatives to their last resounding victory in 1958. Mr. Diefenbaker angered President Kennedy by his refusal to allow American nuclear weapons in Canada.

Mr. Mulroney, by contrast, has chosen to emphasize improved relations with Washington, hoping trade and investment will increase as a result. The Conservatives have thus largely adopted the policy of continental economic integration long favored by the Liberals, except for the final years of Mr. Trudeau's reign when a nationalistic reaction to American control of the Canadian economy flared.

Economic problems aside, the party's success will probably hinge mainly on Mr. Mulroney's ability to unify the separate provincial and regional kingdoms that make up this nation. A major test will come when the western members of his Parliamentary majority, accustomed to blaming the Liberal Quebec caucus for all their problems, sit down in a few weeks with their own brand-new 58-member Quebec caucus to talk over national issues and goals.



Prime Minister-elect Brian Mulroney

## A Conservative wind

Membership in the next Canadian parliament, according to last week's unofficial count, and the membership after the 1980 elections.

	Liberals		Progressive Conservatives		New Democratic Party		Independents	
	'80	'84	'80	'84	'80	'84	'80	'84
Atlantic provinces*	7	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quebec	17	58	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ontario	14	67	13	0	0	1	0	0
The West**	2	61	17	0	0	0	0	0
Total	40	211	30	0	0	1	0	0

\* Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island  
\*\* Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Northwest Territories, Yukon Territory.

United Press Canada

## Defying Critics, Weakened British Unions Back Striking Miners

# A Tarnished 'New Realism' for Labor

By BARNABY J. FEDER

BRIGHTON, England — Anyone who wants the slogan "new realism" is welcome to it. Britain's trade union movement used it to describe the strategy it adopted in the face of adversity at the annual meeting a year ago of the Trades Union Congress. By almost any measure, from unemployment to union rights, things got worse.

Unfortunately for union leaders who gathered again last week for the 116th annual session of the congress, the future looked even more treacherous. Weakened by falling membership and by many members' desire to be cautious in the face of 12.7 percent unemployment, the unions face four more years of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, whose Conservative Party triumphed in the 1983 elections. Conservative legislation has severely restricted union options in industrial disputes and new laws this fall will force many unions to overhaul their structures and opera-

tions in ways that could make it harder for militants to call strikes.

Union membership has fallen from 12.2 million in 1980 to 10 million today, while unemployment has doubled to more than three million. Reduced income has forced mergers and cutbacks in programs. New industries, such as electronics, have proven difficult to organize, with much of the success going to the conservative Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union.

It offers a no-strike agreement covering all trades in the plant, which many union leaders criticize as weakening workers' rights. But opinion polls show that the public still thinks unions have too much power and that they exercise it irresponsibly. "I have never seen the union movement with lower morale than at the present time," said Sir Terence Beckett, director general of the Confederation of British Industry, the voice of management.

The bitter divisions between unions and, in many cases, within them, over how to act while

their influence and power waned had been muted in hopes that the Labor Party would be returned to power last year. But fond memories of beer and sandwiches served to union leaders at 10 Downing Street by Labor Prime Ministers were shattered by Mrs. Thatcher's re-election and the shambles in which it left the Labor Party, the union movement's political arm. After the Conservative victory, the Congress's 100 unions approved the strategy that General Secretary Lionel Murray called "new realism." Militants were advised to be less aggressive to allow room for the unions to attempt to soften the Tory legislative program through dialogue.

The strategy began to lose its already limited appeal when the National Graphical Union, a major printers union, ignored legal restraints on picketing in a fruitless attempt to prevent a small newspaper owner from opening a nonunion shop near Manchester. The publisher used the new laws to have large fines imposed on the union and its funds sequestered. The printers asked for help, but the congress's executive council moved cautiously, and ineffectually, for fear of running afoul of the Thatcher laws.

Then last winter, the Government banned unions from a security installation at Cheltenham. To the chagrin of leaders who were trying to organize nationwide protests, a high proportion of the installation's employees accepted a Government offer to turn in their union cards in return for a bonus. "There's no doubt that the Government didn't help those of us who were trying to move things in a new direction," said Frank Chapman, an official in the electronic and telecommunications union.

## Militant Thunder

The Government moved more gingerly in the miners strike that is now five months old. It discouraged the state's coal and steel management boards from seeking enforcement of the laws on picketing restrictions, a tactic that might have broadened the dispute. In this case, however, the Government's caution strengthened the hand of union militants who argued that the new laws should be ignored. "We have to learn that if we don't run, they won't chase us," thundered Michael McGahey, the Communist leader of the Scottish miners. By last week, "moderates" had retreated from arguing that laws should be obeyed to the position that they should be disobeyed only when there were prospects for making gains. "Telling your members when you are in a no-win situation is not 'new realism,'" it's the oldest realism in trade union history," Mr. Murray said, defending the council's refusal to give full backing to the printers.

Spurred on by angry militants, the congress voted overwhelmingly on Monday to step up support for the miners in the face of strong evidence that most union members do not support their strike and the warning that several pivotal unions, notably in the steel and electrical power industries, have no intention of cooperating. Eric Hammond, the electronic workers' new leader, called the vote "dishonest" and a blow to the congress's credibility. The Guardian, one of Britain's few newspapers that has been sympathetic to the unions, said "new realism" had been replaced by "surrealism."

By a narrow margin, the Congress later backed away from a proposal by the militants that, read literally, could have committed it to support any union's action, without regard to its tactics or the validity of its claims.



Supporters of miners' strike demonstrating outside Trades Union Congress conference hall in Brighton, England, last week.

United Press International



## Friction With Rome Grows as Some Clergy Press for Social Change



Brazilian Catholics at a religious festival in Peralba state.

Magnum / Sebastiao Salgado Jr.

## Brazil Tests Limits of Liberation Theology

By ALAN RIDING

RIO DE JANEIRO — Leonardo Boff, the Brazilian theologian who last week underwent four hours of interrogation by the Vatican for his advocacy of liberation theology, contends that he is not the real target. "There's an old German adage," he said before his trip to Rome. "You hit the yoke, but you think of the donkey. They're hitting me, but they're thinking of the church in Brazil."

The presence of three influential Brazilian prelates in Rome last week to coincide with Friar Boff's "dialogue," as the Vatican called it, suggested that much of Brazil's Catholic hierarchy shared this view. Nowhere has the controversial theology of liberation been carried out more consistently and widely than in Brazil, where its proponents have placed on the church the obligation to combat economic and social ills. Friar Boff, a 44-year-old Franciscan, has preached this thinking in his theology classes at a seminary near Rio de Janeiro, urging structural changes in society to fight poverty.

Until now, the political and at times revolutionary roles played by some clergy in Central America, notably Nicaragua, have provoked sharper confrontations with Rome than the less spectacular social involvement of Brazil's bishops and priests. An official Nicaraguan delegation visited the Vatican last week in the hope of reversing an order that four Catholic priests resign their posts in the Sandinista Government.

But the condemnation of Marxist aspects of liberation theology, issued last week by the Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith with the approval of Pope John Paul II, has led churchmen here to believe that Rome is now also intent on switching the focus of the church in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America back to strictly evangelical work. The Vatican document shares the liberationists' condemnation of oligarchies without

social conscience and military dictators who make a mockery of human rights. But it rejects the Marxist concept of the class struggle and warns against totalitarian and atheistic regimes that come to power "precisely in the name of the liberation of the people."

In Brazil's case, a change of emphasis would not come easily. Not only does Brazil have the largest single Catholic congregation and the third largest hierarchy in the world, but an overwhelming majority of its 358 bishops also supports identifying the church's with the problems of injustice. Further, the church here appears to have reached its position not through intellectual adherence to liberation theology, but through a gradual process of transformation.

Political developments in Brazil were important catalysts. In 1964, most Brazilian bishops endorsed the country's military coup because they feared growing leftist influence among peasants and workers. But by the end of the decade, after numerous priests and nuns were detained, tortured and expelled in the battle against leftist guerrilla groups, several bishops jumped to their defense and, by implication, criticized the regime.

From an initial concern with human rights, the church slowly broadened its vision to include social, economic and political rights. In 1978, for example, the Peace and Justice Commission of the São Paulo Archdiocese scathingly condemned Brazil's "economic miracle," asserting that concentration of wealth during the country's boom years had made most Brazilians poorer.

At a time when the army seemed the only nationwide power in the country, the church found itself playing the role of a broad-based opposition. The outspoken Archbishop of Recife and Olinda, Dom Helder Camara, was banned by censors from mention by the press, but his influence was felt across the impoverished Northeast.

The biggest step has been to develop ecclesiastical communities that have provided the church with a huge

grassroots base. These communities, which now number some 70,000 and have four million members, comprise small groups of Christians who meet regularly to discuss the Bible and their faith in the context of their daily lives. Since the communities are often organized by priests among peasants, workers and slum-dwellers, they provide a forum for wider analysis of social, economic and political problems. They also produce leaders who go on to organize trade unions or other activist outlets.

Unlike some Nicaraguan priests, Brazil's clergy has not suggested a new "people's church" as an eventual rival to the bishops, although the Vatican is concerned that an attack on the established hierarchy might be one consequence of liberation theology. Proponents of this theology do favor a more humble and democratic church.

## A Changing Continent

The changes in the Brazilian church have not taken place in isolation from the rest of the continent. The Latin American Bishops' Conference in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968 chose to exercise "a preferential option for the poor." Socially engaged priests had appeared in most countries even before the Peruvian priest, Gustavo Gutiérrez, published his influential work, "A Theology of Liberation," in 1971.

But Brazil's bishops and theologians carry special weight in the region, a fact seemingly confirmed by the Vatican's efforts to keep them in line. Friar Boff reported after his interrogation, however, that he had not been asked to change anything. The Vatican said it would "study" the results. Before flying to Rome to join Aloisio Cardinal Lorscheider of Fortaleza and Archbishop Ivo Lorscheider, president of the Bishops' Conference, Paulo Cardinal Arnas of São Paulo suggested that no dramatic "surrender" should be expected. "The liberation of the poor is an aspiration rooted in human dignity," he said. "The message of liberation is central to Christianity."

## Two Died in Nicaragua

## 'Volunteers' Tread Where The C.I.A. Is Not Allowed

By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

MIAMI — He was in his mid-40's and he had a good job as a clinical psychologist, teaching and conducting a private practice. But he was getting antsy.

"I was tired of seeing patients and tired of teaching," he said the other day.

So, telling his wife he was going on a vacation with the boys, he flew to Mexico, he said, and took part in a raid on the home of a drug dealer who had wrenched on a deal. He said he got a commission on a \$250,000 debt he collected — plus a dose of shrapnel from a grenade.

A few months later, he said, he was leading patrols and staging ambushes in Nicaragua, and early this year he was in the jungles of South America training young men to overthrow the Government of Suriname.

The man, who goes by the code name "Dr. John," is one of dozens of Americans who remember their military days so fondly that they try to recreate the experience. With few exceptions, they are fervent anti-Communists.

These days the easiest way to get back to basic combat is to go to Central America, where it is not difficult for American veterans to find a place with a rebel or government force in need of help.

"I made contact with some of the anti-Sandinista groups," Dr. John said last week. "And I ended up enlisting in the Eden Pastora forces. Everyone signs up for an indeterminate stay. They can leave when they want to."

Attention focused on American civilians in military roles in Central America last week with the news that two men who had gone to Nicaragua to help an anti-Government organization were killed when their helicopter was shot down by Government troops. Nicaraguan officials said the men were participating in a raid on a Government military school.

The men, who had been helicopter pilots in Vietnam, had entered Nicaragua with a rebel guide and four other members of an organization called Civilian Military Assistance, which claims to have about 1,000 members, mostly in Middle Western and Southern states. One was a detective on leave from the Huntsville, Ala. police department; the other was a man from Memphis who had been living on disability payments from injuries suffered in Vietnam. Both were 36 years old.

Thomas V. Posey, a produce wholesaler from Decatur, Ala., and a former United States Marine who is a di-



Thomas V. Posey, a director of Civilian Military Assistance, which aids Nicaraguan rebels.

## Botha Strengthens Hold as Protests Flare in South Africa

## Under the New Rules Apartheid Still Wins

By ALAN COWELL

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's images last week — a kind of coronation and chaos — might have been drawn from different lands whose events converge only in conflict.

In Cape Town, Pieter W. Botha, Prime Minister since 1978, was elected to the new office of Executive State President. The position affords potentially authoritarian powers over a three-chamber legislature that, for the first time, includes people of Indian and mixed racial descent but continues to exclude the black majority.

For Mr. Botha, it was the culmination of 48 years in politics, enthronement at a new style of court that he says means reform and a move toward racial harmony in this divided land.

Six hundred miles away, in the black townships of the Vaal Triangle, sandwiched between steel mills and mine dumps, some of those excluded from the "new dispensation" had other preoccupations. Demonstrations against rent increases rapidly turned into an orgy of looting, arson and killing.

Thirty-two people died, 10 of them, according to a police spokesman, in police "countermeasures." Coincidentally, more than 100,000 black pupils stayed away from classes to dramatize a wide range of grievances.

The lessons were sad ones. Despite massive abstentions at polling in the past two weeks for the nonwhite chambers in the changed legislature, the white architects of Mr. Botha's plan showed no intention of being deflected from implanting a system that critics assert entrenches the notion of government by racial distinction.

The township riots barely seemed to impinge on South Africa's 4.5 million white minority, preoccupied with the potential limits to their consumerism caused by a profound economic crisis and, not surprisingly in a sporting nation, a dispute within the elite that runs the Transvaal's rugby clubs.

Moreover, the riots displayed the anger of impotence in the face of inability to force fundamental change. Many of those killed by black rioters were blacks accused of being co-opted into the white-designed authorities that run the townships.

The Deputy Mayor of Sharpeville, the scene of some of the worst violence, was reportedly backed to death and burned on his own doorstep. Black anger turned in upon itself while the police ensured that the violence did not spill beyond racial confines into nearby towns where white Afrikaners live.

Sharpeville lies only two miles from the town of Vereeniging, but many whites, asked by reporters for directions, were unable to give them, reflecting the separatist bred by inclination and by 36 years of formal apartheid.

The perceptions of black and white rarely coincide. While Cabinet ministers who visited the townships said later they had talked with the "duty elected" members of



South African police with suspected looters in Sebokeng township last week.

United Press International

the black council there, they offered no explanation for the fact that the councils were voted into office by only 14.7 of the township's voters, a significant figure in a political system where boycott offers one of the few forms of political expression available to blacks.

The authorities blamed unidentified "persons and organizations" for stirring the unrest that left thousands of

black people stranded in townships where stores had been destroyed by looters and arsonists and bus services had largely been suspended.

Louis Le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, declined to discuss the presumed instigators' identity or to document his theory that the rent increases were not the cause of the violence.

The state-run radio, reflecting an official interpretation, compared the troubles to those experienced elsewhere in Africa as a result of the traumas of rapid modernization. It did not refer to black unhappiness with apartheid.

"There must be other reasons," insisted The Sowetan, a newspaper read mainly by blacks. "Perhaps the most significant for the country is to realize that the terrible lot that blacks are burdened under affects them all over the country. The problems of the rural areas, the urban areas, the townships and so forth are similar, and it should not surprise anybody when the spark is set off in some obscure, black area."

The theory has its roots in recent history. The name of Sharpeville was burned into black memories by the violence there in 1960 that claimed 69 lives. In 1976, the issue of using the Afrikaans language in the schools touched off the bloodshed in Soweto that spread across the nation and cost more than 500 lives.

Since then, the authorities have greatly increased security police surveillance of black townships.

Some black activists say that their resistance has been muted by the power of the state. Their organizations, they acknowledge, are infiltrated by police informers and are monitored by security police computers, while their protests do not deter the adamant determination of the Afrikaners to pursue and refine racial separation under white hegemony.

Yet "it takes very little to light the powder keg," warned Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. "The fuse is very short," he said.

Bishop Tutu placed the responsibility for last week's violence on "the underlying resentment that has built up over 40 years."

rector of Civilian Military Assistance, said the organization had sent about 15 members to Nicaragua since January as military advisers or to take "nonlethal" military equipment to the rebels.

Mr. Posey said the organization had been formed by friends who had gotten together over "war stories" and "gun talk" and decided to "provide military assistance to the freedom fighters" in Nicaragua. The group reportedly has been under investigation for possible violations of the Neutrality Act, which forbids private citizens from launching foreign invasions from the United States.

Mr. Posey denied that his organization or the two dead men had anything to do with the Central Intelligence Agency, as the Managua Government has charged. Last week, some in Congress also sought explanations. Representative Ted Weiss of New York demanded that William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, give "a full account" of any participation by his agency. The State Department conceded that officials at the American Embassy in El Salvador knew of the men's presence and that an American military officer acted as a sort of unofficial go-between with the Salvadoran army.

Robert K. Brown, the editor and publisher of Soldier of Fortune magazine, said that since last fall, under a loose agreement with senior army officers in El Salvador, he has sent 10 teams of up to a dozen volunteers each to teach Salvadoran Army soldiers combat tactics and first aid. Both Mr. Brown's magazine and Civilian Military Assistance have sent the Nicaraguan rebels used combat uniforms, boots, canteens and other battlefield gear, perhaps in violation of the law.

Dr. John said he earned between \$2,000 and \$8,000 a month for his work with the Nicaraguan rebels and the soldiers who hoped to overthrow the Government of Suriname. But for him, like most of the others, money was not at the heart of the matter. "I didn't take as much as they offered," he said.

The members of Civilian Military Assistance and of Mr. Brown's teams are said to be unpaid volunteers, with some of them paying their own airfare and room and board to feel, once again, the chilling sensation of life in the combat zone.

"All of these guys have got jobs," Mr. Brown said from his office in Boulder, Colo. "Essentially they're taking vacation time."

In the mid-1970's, some found work in Rhodesia and in Angola, and there may be a few working in Libya today. But, says Mr. Brown, whose magazine carries classified ads from would-be mercenaries, there are few paying jobs for free-lance soldiers these days. He estimates there are no more than a couple of dozen Americans working as mercenaries all over the world.

"We get a lot of inquiries from people offering their services," Mr. Brown said, "and we simply have not accepted this. We have insisted the people we take down to Salvador are people we know personally. We have no way of checking backgrounds and we have to reject some probably well-intentioned, well-qualified individuals."



# The Great War Over Superchips Economy

By DAVID E. SANGER

**M**URRAY GOLDMAN swears that for as long as he lives, he will always remember March 29, 1984, as a "white-knuckle day."

That day Mr. Goldman, who heads Motorola's microprocessor division, and scores of his colleagues pressed against ropes in a cramped testing laboratory in Austin, Tex. Their eyes were fixed on a small cluster of engineers applying the first electric current to the 68020, Motorola's newest computer chip — and one of the most powerful ever turned out by the semiconductor industry.

More than 200,000 transistors had been crammed onto that three-eighths-of-an-inch-square slice of silicon, and no one was certain that it would not overheat and burn out. "We had our whole careers riding on this monster," said Mr. Goldman, who still carries the academic rumple of his former job as a New York University engineering professor. "I didn't spend two years and about \$50 million to make a piece of silicon glow in the dark."

To the immense relief of the onlookers, it didn't glow. Instead, a small display screen showed that the 32-bit chip — a chip able to process 32 pieces of information simultaneously and execute up to 8 million tasks in a second — was searching for its first instructions. Soon, it was performing the type of mathematical acrobatics that will enable the next generation of desktop computers to operate with the speed and agility of huge mainframe computers.

No one doubts that this new generation of microprocessors — which are sophisticated semiconductor chips that make up the critical, thinking parts of microcomputers — will bring revolutionary changes to the computer industry. They will give personal and desktop computers far more processing power than any now sold in the thousands of computer retail stores across the country. The question is, whose superchip will prevail? The Intel Corporation and Motorola have dominated the market for the current generation of microprocessors, and are the heavy favorites for the next, exemplified by the 68020. In fact, that chip appears to have given Motorola at least a six-month lead over its arch-rival. But an unusually powerful, 16-bit, Intel chip, brought out earlier this year, has already been snapped up by the International Business Machines Corporation for its Personal Computer AT. I.B.M. is no disinterested third party — it owns 20 percent of Intel, and has given the company an enviable instant penetration into every new market.

Other chip makers, eyeing a microprocessor market that could top \$4.5 billion by 1989 — roughly four times this year's level — are hot on Intel and Motorola's heels. National Semiconductor, which came out with a critically acclaimed but less complex 32-bit chip a year ago, announced in May that it would team up with Texas Instruments to develop a range of sophisticated superchips. And, of course, the Japanese are poised to pounce.

The outcome of the race affects not only the chip makers, but the computer manufacturers themselves. By consolidating hundreds of components onto a single chip,

**Motorola and Intel are fighting over a big, new market. The victor could call the shots for the next generation of computers.**

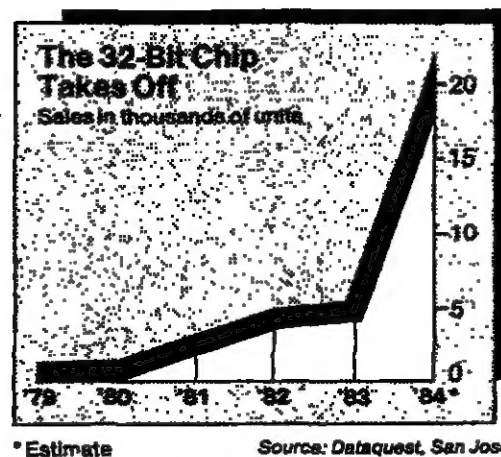
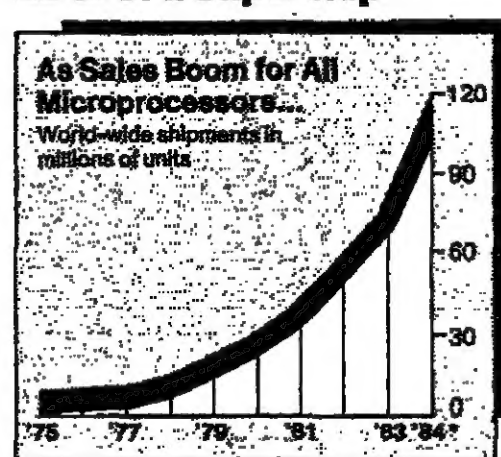
the microprocessor manufacturers have swooped into the technological center of the computer business. Indeed, they are designing entire computer systems on their chips, some so complicated that it will be years before their uses are fully understood. "We're not just making circuits anymore," boasted Jack C. Carsten, senior vice president of the components group at the Intel Corporation. "Hell, we're putting together the guts of the computer."

Indeed, the microprocessor makers have seized the most glamorous part of the \$15 billion semiconductor industry, and not just for computers. Today microprocessors are everywhere. They are in office copying machines, industrial robots, cameras, traffic lights, power tools, washing machines, video cassette recorders, even in fire alarms. And nothing is more chock full of chips than cars, where microprocessors adjust the mix of air and fuel to control pollutants. "There are at least five or six microprocessors in the average General Motors car, maybe a dozen in luxury models," reports Robert J. McMillin, director of engineering at G.M.'s Delco Electronic Division, a big Motorola customer.

Still, the makers of memory chips and specialty microprocessors — the bread and butter of the semiconductor industry — have never risen above the status of parts suppliers. Those who make microprocessors for computers, by contrast, have become an integral part of the effort of computer manufacturers to bring the power of mainframes to the desktop.

To date, Motorola and Intel have been the muscular giants, whose chips carry the programming for many of the most popular desktop computers. "A lot of users are locked into Intel and Motorola designs," said Mel Thom-

## Birth of a Superchip



sen, senior industry analyst at Dataquest, a California research group. "It's no easy task to pry them away."

But the microprocessor makers are trying. Already they are battling to get their newest, hottest chips "designed in" to the computers of the future. Motorola, which gets about one-third of its \$4.3 billion in annual revenue from semiconductors and the rest from communications and other electronics products, is distributing samples of its 68020 chip to more than 100 potential customers. Apple Computer has reportedly chosen the chip for the next version of its popular Macintosh — which already uses an earlier Motorola chip. National Semiconductor, whose chip competes most directly with Motorola's, has signed up the Burroughs Corporation and Intergraph, which makes sophisticated desktop computers used for design work. "We have clean, new designs that don't carry the warms and pimples of older generations," said Dick Sanquini, vice president of National's microprocessor group.

Intel has hardly been standing still. When I.B.M. unveiled its high-powered Personal Computer AT in Dallas last month, Intel's souped-up 16-bit 80286 chip was the star of the show. Industry insiders predict that the 80286 will be in I.B.M.'s entire line of Personal Computers, and that Intel's 32-bit 80386, due out next year, will make a big splash in I.B.M.-compatible equipment.

Lurking in the background, as always, are the Japanese. Giant companies such as Nippon Electric and Toshiba have been a major force in memory chips, and now are venturing into powerful microprocessors. "We keep looking over our shoulder at the Japanese," said Gordon Moore, Intel's chairman. "We are scared to death they will get something established."

Indeed, the technology of microprocessors is moving at such a pace that only computer experts can keep up. Mr. Moore, an engineer and a co-founder of Intel, was one of the technical pioneers in the semiconductor industry. Yet today he admits, "I am often not comfortable technically anymore. Increasingly the parts of the business that are important are not the ones I grew up in." In fact, the importance of the computer market is changing the nature of Intel's executive suite. A semiconductor expert used to run Intel's microcomputer group. David House, the group's current general manager, is a former Honeywell executive who specialized in minicomputers.

To veterans of the computer industry, the wrestling match that is under way in the microprocessor industry is a replay of a familiar story. In the 1950's and 1960's, a myriad of computer makers fought to become the standard-bearers of their industry. The lead changed hands many times before it settled on I.B.M. "I remember when my father, an I.B.M. man for 40 years, would come home with his tail dragging because they lost another round to Sperry or Honeywell," said Mr. Carsten of Intel.

But I.B.M. understood the critical importance of a complete library of software, and with the introduction of its System/360 of a line of different computers that could all handle the same programs. The more programs that were available, the more machines I.B.M. sold. And the more it sold, the more software was written for its machines. The company's success snowballed.

The same thing happened in minicomputers a decade later. After years of marketing battles and careful nurturing of the software writers, the Digital Equipment Corporation prevailed over competitors such as Perkin Elmer and Macrodatta.

For a while, it looked as though the semiconductor industry might not have to fight the software wars. Its first

products, the transistor and then the integrated circuit on a silicon chip, required little, if any, programming. But as computers and other electronic devices became more complex, specialty circuits became too expensive. So in 1971 Intel brought out the first general-purpose microprocessor — a chip-of-all-trades that could be programmed to perform thousands of tasks. "All of a sudden, we were developing the logic parts that previously our customers had done for themselves," said Mr. Moore.

When the personal computer boom started, computer manufacturers naturally looked for the microprocessor that ran the most software. The one they originally settled on belonged to a company called Zilog, which was started by some Intel defectors and soon became a wholly owned subsidiary of Exxon.

But Zilog's popular chip, the 8-bit Z-80, never grew up. The company decided to manufacture a more powerful 16-bit chip that ran none of the programs written for the earlier model. And that gave Intel its chance.

In 1980, Intel was just beginning to roll out its 16-bit line when its 8088 — a sparkling new Ferrari of microprocessors for that time, although closer in today's market to an elderly Chevrolet with two cylinders missing — caught I.B.M.'s eye. Big Blue based its first personal computer on that chip, and as I.B.M. proceeded to capture the lion's share of that market, Intel found itself the industry's chip supplier of choice. In 1981, the year the I.B.M. PC was introduced, Intel's revenues were \$789 million; this year, they are expected to top \$1.7 billion, mostly from microprocessors. "We own the P.C. market today because of the standardization of the I.B.M. machine," said Mr. House.

He is only slightly overstating the case. Thousands of programs have been written for the I.B.M. machine, and any computer maker seeking to use them must buy the Intel chip. Although normally microprocessor prices plummet as manufacturers spit out their chips in ever greater volume, demand for the 8088 has been so intense that Intel was actually able to raise its price last year, now around \$17.

More important, the popularity of the 8088 has assured Intel a huge market for its newest 16-bit chip, the 80286, which is compatible with the older model. I.B.M. alone is expected to eventually use hundreds of thousands in its Personal Computer AT, which will run all of the programs designed for the older Personal Computer at up to three times the speed. And any computer manufacturer who wants to produce a machine compatible with I.B.M. PC's will have to use the chip as well, no matter how alluring a competitor's chip might be. "The circuitry we have put on the 286 would have filled three big five-

difficult. The company reportedly is working on a totally separate 32-bit chip for computer makers who are not tied to the old Intel design.

Intel tried to depart from its own designs a few years back, and the resulting chip was a commercial bomb. "The market wasn't ready for it," said an Intel vice president.

Enter Motorola. From the start, the company had planned to leapfrog Intel in the 32-bit arena. It even designed its four-year-old 68000, the chip that powers the Macintosh, to be a 32-bit chip at heart. (Purists, however, note that while the chip processes 32 pieces of information simultaneously, it exchanges data with the outside world in chunks of 16 bits.)

So Motorola engineers had an easier time designing their superchip. "Our decision was how much to put on the chip," said Mr. Goldman. Some executives wanted to quickly match National's 32-bit entry by rushing to market a chip that was only marginally better than the 68000. Others, Mr. Goldman said, wanted to "hit a grand slam, with a chip that would capture the 32-bit world."

The decision wasn't made until hours before Motorola announced its strategy in New York in March 1982. "We went to the press conference with two sets of slides," Mr. Goldman recalled. "One described the marginally better chip, the other described the big one."

The "big one," of course, won out, but the density of its circuitry posed formidable development problems. The 68020 was designed to have three times as many transistors as its predecessor. The "breadboard" made by Motorola engineers — a large-scale mock-up of the chip used to diagnose design problems — takes up 17 square feet.

Motorola scientists feared the chip would melt before performing its first instruction. To solve the problem they used a complex new technology, called CMOS for Complementary Metal Oxide Semiconductor. CMOS takes less power to operate the chip, and less power means less heat.

The engineers added one particularly fetching feature: an "instruction cache" that allows the chip to keep some parts of a program in its belly. The chip thus doesn't need new instructions to perform common repeat operations, and the result is tremendous speed. Motorola's new chip can easily execute 2.5 million instructions in a second — the speed of a small mainframe — and in bursts it can perform up to 8 million a second. "We knew that to attract new customers we had to make something no one else can touch," said Mr. Goldman.

Of course, competitors see it differently. In the best traditions of the semiconductor industry, most dismiss



The Motorola 68020

## A SEMICONDUCTOR GLOSSARY

Nothing generates jargon like the computer industry. And the buzzwords of the semiconductor industry — some new, some borrowed from the age of mainframes — can do more to obscure

than to explain. Herewith, a brief collection: **Microprocessor** — The "computer-on-a-chip" that holds a microcomputer's logic circuits. Microprocessors are programmed to perform tasks. Microcontrollers, a variant, contain a microprocessor, some memory, and a built-in program. **Bit** — The smallest unit of computer data. A microprocessor's horsepower is measured in bits. The first personal computers used 8-bit chips, meaning they could process eight pieces of information at a time. I.B.M.'s PC is a 16-bit machine. A 32-bit chip

often has the processing power of mainframes. **Byte** — A character of information. It takes 8 bits to make up a byte. **MIPS** — Short for Millions of Instructions Per Second. The speed of computers and components often are described in MIPS. Several commercial microprocessors run at 1 to 3 MIPS and faster in bursts — rates that challenge even mainframes. **Memory Chips** — The other kind of semiconductor. These chips store data and feed it to the microprocessor. The Japanese dominate the 64K market (chips that store 64,000 bytes) and are a major force in the 256K market. Variants include ROMs — Read Only Memories, which are permanently etched with programs — and EPROMs, Erasable-Programmable ROM's, which can be reused. **Virtual Memory** — A feature that enables some microprocessors to grab pieces of a program from a floppy disk when they are needed, and swap them for other pieces later on. This lets the microprocessor run extremely large programs.

drawer filing cabinets in 1971 and cost half-a-million dollars," said Mr. House.

The 80286 chip costs only \$200, and some industry insiders predict that within a year nearly every type of I.B.M. Personal Computer will incorporate it. The cost advantages for I.B.M. would be enormous because so many other semiconductor would be eliminated. Dataquest estimates that the chip, because it includes so many other components, would allow I.B.M. to use only 25 semiconductors in its new Personal Computer, down from 300 now.

The chip's breadth of functions is formidable. It can grapple with 16 million pieces of information in a computer's memory. And it has "virtual memory," which means that it can run a computer program of any size, even one too big to fit in the computer's actual memory. The 80286 can grab pieces of a program from an external floppy disk when they are needed, work with them, and then return them to the disk. This swapping process can go on endlessly, and greatly reduces the cost of the computer system.

Still, Intel has yet to introduce its 80386, the 32-bit chip that will be compatible with its 16-bit line. Intel insiders admit that the older line was designed to be that powerful, and that the conversion has been exceptionally

the other guy's efforts as amateurish. Mr. Carsten of Intel charges that Motorola's customers will discover that "switching from the 68000 to the 68020 is nowhere near as easy as the company says." Jerry Rogers, Texas Instruments' vice president of semiconductors, allows that "the Motorola product is impressive," but quickly adds that the company has not completed work on peripheral chips needed for heavy-duty mathematical work.

Ironically, for an industry in which each company thinks so little of the other's work, there is a lot of exchange of technologies. Most major customers insist on "second sources" for their chips, so that no semiconductor company can monopolize sales of a given design. All the major chip makers license at least one competitor to produce their chips. Thus was born the arrangement between National and Texas Instruments: the former needed a second source, the latter a commercial microprocessor.

At this point, no one is even venturing a guess as to who will rule the market for the 32-bit chip. The chip is so complex that it will take well into the 1990's before it is fully integrated into computers. And by that time, yet another competing chip may have made an appearance. The winner, noted Mr. Carsten, could be "some startup that has not been invented yet."

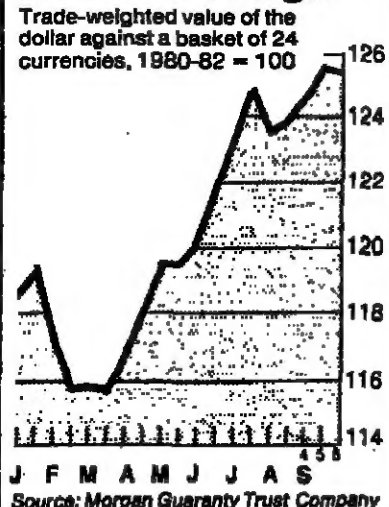
## WEEK IN BUSINESS

# The Dollar Resumes its Bold Ascent

The mighty dollar staged a major surge last week after a quiet August, establishing new highs against many of the world's biggest currencies. On Friday, the dollar had one of its biggest single-day gains. Bolstered by expectations of higher U.S. interest rates and an unwillingness by investors to sell dollars, the currency rose to record highs against the British pound, French franc, Italian lira and an 11½-year high against the West German mark. Analysts had expected the dollar to weaken during August. "The correction that was in all the charts didn't happen," one trader said, and many now expect the dollar to maintain its current high level for a long time. Much of the buying that continued to push the dollar higher evidently came from major corporations that will need dollars for their operations later this month. And that buying is expected to continue to keep the currency high.

Even positive economic news such as the unemployment rate staying steady in August at 7.4 percent, did not help the stock market, which continued its decline. The Dow closed down 17 points for the week, at 1,207.38, in generally quiet trading. The credit markets rose modestly through much of the week and interest rates drifted lower. The Government's 30-year bond was yielding 12.43 percent at week's end, and the money supply fell \$700 million.

## The Dollar's Strength



Source: Morgan Guaranty Trust Company

Nestlé, the Swiss food conglomerate, will pay almost \$3 billion to buy the Los Angeles-based Carnation Company, a dairy and food products company. The deal, worth \$33 a share for the 34.8 million Carnation shares outstanding, will be the largest acquisition of a food company, topping the \$2.8 billion merger of Beatrice Foods and Esmark. The Nestlé-Carnation transaction had been rumored for two months and was a signal to analysts that more such combinations of food concerns would be forthcoming. Nestlé officials said the purchase would breathe new life into their sluggish American operations.

Thumbs Down. President Reagan rejected a plea by the U.S. copper industry for protection from low-priced imports, an issue that had divided certain prominent members of the Administration. The decision came despite findings by the International Trade Commission that U.S. copper producers were being hurt by imports. Trade Representative Bill Brock, in announcing the decision, said it would help the financially strapped copper-producing countries and encourage U.S. trading partners to resist protectionist measures themselves.

Mexico said it had reached an agreement with its bank advisory group to extend repayment of much of its \$90 billion in debt over 14 years.

Digital Equipment was hit with the largest fine the Government has levied against a company for violation of the nation's export laws. The Commerce Department fined DEC \$1.5 million for selling its powerful minicomputers to a West German concern that is known for reselling high-tech equipment to the Soviet Union for military use. DEC denied any wrongdoing, but said it decided to pay the fine to avoid long litigation and inconvenience to its customers.

Deposit Insurance. In a footnote to its quarterly 10Q filing, Citicorp stated that it had taken out a \$900 million insurance policy with the Cigna

Corporation, which covers "prolonged delays" in loan repayments from certain developing countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and the Philippines. It was believed to be the first time a bank has taken out such insurance, which will cost Citicorp about \$4.5 million a year. Other banks said they would consider similar action.

Car prices are edging upward again. Ford and Nissan joined General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors in increasing the average sticker price of its 1985-model cars. Ford announced tentative plans for a 1.9 percent, or \$225 per car, increase, and Nissan announced a \$113 per car rise. The total increase for 1985 cars will come close to the 2 percent markup predicted by analysts for the model year that starts Oct. 1. Meanwhile, new car sales for the middle August period rose 11.6 percent over a year earlier.

A price increase might not help the automakers, if they have to weather a strike. The United Auto Workers Union changed its position about targeting both General Motors and Ford for a strike, and chose G.M. as the lone target. This means talks with Ford will effectively be halted until some agreement is reached with G.M. The current contract expires on Friday.

Nathaniel C. Nash

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED SEPTEMBER 7, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Mid S Ut	6,727,800	11 1/2	- 1/4	
Exxon	3,252,900	43 1/4	+ 1/4	
IBM	3,204,500	121 1/4	+ 1/4	
Mobil	3,026,600	29 1/4	- 1/4	
Carnat	2,995,500	78 1/4	+ 3/4	
Fin Wp	2,795,100	28 1/4	- 1/4	
Gil Co A	2,737,800	6 1/4	+ 1/4	
AT&T	2,688,600	18 1/4	- 1/4	
Revlon	2,496,900	39 1/4	+ 1/4	
Fed N M	2,483,700	13 1/4	+ 1/4	
AMR	2,492,700	25 1/4	- 1/4	
Cmw E	2,389,700	25 1/4	- 1/4	
Rals Pur	2,362,300	31 1/4	+ 1/4	
Colg Pal	2,354,000	24 1/4	+ 1/4	
Am Exp	2,342,300	31 1/4	- 1/4	
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	189.4	186.2	186.6	-2.79
20 Transp	139.7	135.4	136.0	-3.77
40 Util	68.2	67.8	68.3	-0.42
40 Financial	16.9	16.8	16.8	-0.15
500 Stocks	166.6	163.8	164.3	-2.31
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1226.5	1199.8	1207.3	-17.00
20 Transp	518.6	503.6	507.4	-12.80
15 Util	130.5	127.7	129.1	-0.36
65 Comb	473.5	463.3	466.7	-7.27
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED SEPT. 7, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
DomeP	1,750,800	2 1/4	- 1/4	
GHCd	1,187,000	14 1/4	- 1/4	
WangB	717,900	27 1/4	- 1/4	
MchGn	589,500	8 1/4	+ 1/4	
BAT	434,100	3 1/4	- 1/16	
Astroic	410,300	3 1/4	+ 1/4	
Verbatim	338,300	7 1/4	...	
UnivR	330,100	9 1/4	+ 1/4	
NIPent	327,100	22 1/4	- 1/4	
TIE	319,900	11 1/4	- 1/4	
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
791	1,139	2,208	72	27
VOLUME				
(4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date		
307,399,160	15,962,668,353			
Same Per. 1983	338,979,010	14,868,109,102		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
High	Low	Last	Change	
New York Stock Exchange	112.3	111.1	-1.53	
Transp	56.9	55.5	-2.06	
Util	46.9	46.4	-0.30	
Finance	89.2	87.9	-0.54	
Composite	95.8	94.4	-0.17	
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
301	445	900	45	16
VOLUME				
(4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date		
21,780,190	1,053,896,895			
Same Per. 1983	24,791,735	1,540,486,844		



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Oh So Sure They're Right

This is what President Reagan said to a prayer breakfast in Dallas last month: People who resist the imposition of prayer in public schools are "attacking religion" and frustrating the will "of the great majority of Americans."

This is what he said to a B'nai B'rith convention in Washington last week: The Constitution "makes sure that every single American is free to choose and practice his or her religious beliefs or to choose no religion at all. Their rights shall not be questioned or violated by the state."

There's a contradiction here, evident to those who in fact choose no religion at all, plus many Catholics, Jews, Protestants of varying persuasion and others. What would Mr. Reagan advise them to do when their children are ridiculed for not participating in "voluntary" school prayers? Does he, truly, think they're free to go out and resist such religious practice? Or does he think, as he said in Dallas, that if they do resist, it is they who are guilty of intolerance?

Intolerance: that's the word that's burning beneath all the smoke about religion and politics, a coupling that offends neither church nor state. There's plenty of religion in politics — and ought to be. People in a democracy should act on their social values, whether derived from their religious faith or from secular sources.

Churches have long preached the social gospel. They have been prominent in the civil rights movement, in the Vietnam resistance, in antinuclear campaigns, even in partisan campaigns like the Rev. Jesse Jackson's run for the Democratic nomination. It's no sacrilege against the Constitution that, in place of the social gospel, other churches now preach Social Darwinism, inveigh on behalf of spending Federal billions for new weapons and against spending any Federal dollars for abortion.

The danger comes from people who are oh so

sure they're right, who insist that they alone represent the one true political faith, who revile the other side as godless, intolerant obstructionists.

The President has come close to expressing just such certitude. Even though he seemed to moderate his views Thursday before the B'nai B'rith, just two days before, to the American Legion, he was still dividing the world into children of light and children of darkness: "What some would do is to twist the concept of freedom of religion to mean 'freedom against religion.'"

Religionists have every right to lobby for causes, to run for office, to criticize with vehemence — but not to misrepresent their opponents or ridicule their motives. Indeed, these rights carry with them a responsibility to respect other views. In short, tolerance: the vital insulator of democracy, the cushion that softens the sharp collisions between different views and faiths and enables all Americans to live together in reasonable harmony.

Mr. A may strongly support capital punishment yet feel passionately that abortion is murder. Mrs. B may disagree with equal passion on both counts and demand of Mr. A, "Death is death. Why can't you see the inconsistency in your positions?" There are times when devout practitioners of one creed, though completely sure they are right, confront equally tenacious believers of the opposite. In this free society, the practical, not to mention moral, mechanism is tolerance.

Did it ever occur to the President that opponents of school prayer might have worthy motives and are not out to frustrate "the great majority of Americans"? Did it ever occur to him that they might be right? And even if not, did it ever occur to him that their views deserve their President's respect?

That would be tolerance. Or, as Learned Hand, the legendary jurist, said during the dark days of World War II: "The spirit of liberty is the spirit that's not too sure it's right."

## Contracting Out Discrimination

According to a judge in New York's Supreme Court, Mayor Koch may not on his own authority require private agencies subsidized by New York City to pledge nondiscrimination against homosexuals. However desirable, the judge ruled, such a social policy must be created legislatively by the City Council.

The ruling accords with other recent court decisions but hardly resolves the issue. The city should not have to tolerate discrimination by its contract agencies.

The challenge to the Mayor's power came from the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in Manhattan, the Salvation Army and Agudath Israel of America, an Orthodox Jewish group. All believe homosexuality is sinful. All contract to provide child care and other valued social services to the city. All disavow discrimination in hiring, but they hold that signing a contract that includes a pledge not to discriminate somehow condones homosexuality.

Mayor Koch's executive order never demanded more than philosophical neutrality. He even encouraged the agencies to supplement their contractual pledge with reassertions of their religious doctrine. And he made clear that the contractors were free to fire employees whose overt conduct was inconsistent with church employment.

Nonetheless, the agencies saw an opportunity to scuttle the order by raising a fair objection under the state Constitution. The Mayor, they said, had exceeded his authority by acting without legislative approval. Justice Klein gave short shrift to some of

the city's serious legal arguments and held broadly to the separation-of-powers precepts handed down by the state's highest court.

Mr. Koch plans an appeal, but he's also quite properly pursuing legislation. While the Council has been the graveyard of a more sweeping homosexual rights bill, a ban on discrimination by city contractors ought to stand a better chance. The new bill would not forbid discrimination in housing and other private-sector activities. It will concern jobs paid for by taxpayers — including homosexuals — and proclaim a person's right not to pay for and suffer employment bias.

Churches, like other organizations, have a right to contest a mayor's power by litigation, but they carry a heavier burden if they now take their opposition to the Council. For the legislation is crucial to the humane, democratic principle underlying the executive order: The city must not subsidize job discrimination by contractors that it would never tolerate by its own agencies. New York needs to make clear its commitment to the idea that workers be judged on how they perform on the job, not how they conduct their private lives.

In his celebrated 1961 encyclical, "On Human Work," Pope John Paul II said, "Work bears a particular mark of man and of humanity, the mark of a person operating within a community of persons." New York City, as employer and contractor, has to demand that homosexuals be deemed part of humanity and community.

## Letters

### Space Defense: An Option Surely Worth Exploring

To the Editor:

I read with interest John Anderson's Aug. 28 Op-Ed article "Debate Space Weapons." As an admirer of Mr. Anderson, I was disappointed that he seems to be crying wolf at the wrong time and on the wrong program.

The Strategic Defense Initiative is a five-year, \$26 billion program to support basic research in the exploration of technologies that could be combined to develop a space defense system. The amount involved is equal to approximately 1.7 percent of the total defense budgets during these years. Twenty-six billion dollars in and of itself is a lot of money but must surely be considered a reasonable investment in potentially useful sciences and technologies.

Given that the program will still be in a research and development stage in the next century, anyone who now claims that it will or will not work must also be speculating in the futures markets. Yet the rationale for exploring the options of this system is surely one that is not without merit.

Pursuing the concept of making land-based offensive systems obsolete through better defensive systems has a certain positive sense to it. And

if along the way we complicate our enemies' contemplated strike by putting into question the success of their targeting strategy, then deterrence will have been improved.

Ballistic missile defenses as we know them today cannot work. The technologies we understand today do not perform successfully enough for our standards. But aspiring to something better should not be dismissed out of hand simply because all the pieces have not as yet been put together. I would have expected Mr. Anderson to have a better appreciation of this effort.

Aside from the fact that space is already being used for military purposes, the question of anti-satellite weapons (ASAT's) now centers on whether the United States will allow itself to test a system to determine whether it will in fact work. We have watched as the Soviets have done as much. We should at least be able to test a potential system — with deployment of such a system the subject of negotiations.

Most important, however, is that demonstrated ASAT capabilities now are at a level that can be monitored and have no bearing on or relationship

to the space-based defense program whatsoever. An ASAT can likely destroy a target with today's technology — and no more. A space-based defense, if technically feasible, will be able to do the same thing as one aspect of its operation but is hardly dependent on today's ASAT capability.

Finally, Mr. Anderson fears "roving" killer satellites far too much. Certainly he is well enough informed to understand that one does not have to blow up a satellite to make it inoperable. I am not as comfortable as Mr. Anderson is in describing Soviet ASAT efforts as being the "reaction" to United States "action."

The space arms race has not heated up. People are, however, becoming more aware of the technology now available and what might be done. I agree with Mr. Anderson — the debate needs to be pursued. But it is a debate that centers on what will provide stability in today's world, and not one that centers on the fear of the future.

MICHAEL VILLO  
Washington, Aug. 30, 1984

The writer is legislative assistant to Representative Beverly Byron of Maryland, a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

### G.O.P. Campaign Debt To Black Politicians

To the Editor:

In his Aug. 29 column, "Reagan's Political Religion," James Reston attacked the Republicans for invoking the aid of churches, particularly "the efforts this year to turn the churches into political registration booths for the G.O.P."

Mr. Reston's point is well taken. History is replete with evidence of bloody catastrophes that resulted from the conjunction of government and organized religion.

But when he tells us that Senator Paul Laxalt, chairman of the Reagan-Bush campaign committee, wrote "to 45,000 carefully selected ministers in 16 states just before the Republican convention in Dallas," Mr. Reston fails to note that the Senator did not invent the idea. The black political movement — not least in the voter registration drive — has long since used the ministry for these purposes.

Lacking the local ward and precinct organizations that were available to Republicans and Democrats, the black suffrage movement has made very effective use of neighborhood churches to get out the vote.

Should the Republicans then be blamed for learning the lessons that have been so well taught by Mayor Harold Washington, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and their confederates?

PHILIP B. KURLAND  
Chicago, Aug. 29, 1984

### Let's Not Put George Washington on TV

To the Editor:

I suppose it is too early for pieces about the apathetic electorate, but do we really need to dredge up the old could-the-greats-of-yesteryear-have-

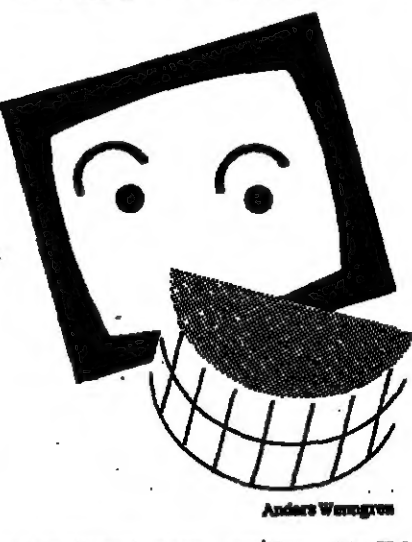
anything other than what he was, and neither did he. He might have smiled with a bit more comfort, but probably not more often.

As for Lincoln, even a casual glance at the Brady pictures reveals a face the camera loves. He bears more than a passing resemblance to that most unexpectedly charismatic of TV personalities, Mr. Spock of "Star Trek." The man radiates star quality, even in the stilted poses of his day. With his quick wit and ready smile, he would have been a smash on TV.

Politicians are endlessly adaptable. Jesse Unruh once lost 50 pounds to make a losing run against Ronald Reagan. In the 19th century, rotundity was a mark of prosperity, the proof of access to good food. Lincoln's lean frame, which seems to fit right into the age of the running shoe and Nantulus machine, was thought quite out of place in his own time. However, had the fashion been thin, we can be sure that ambitious men like Grover Cleveland or John Adams would have put in their time at the gym.

Men (and now women) rise to power because they are of their times and turn circumstance to their advantage. It makes no sense to plant the great of the past into our age, complete with powdered wigs and ill-fitting false teeth. The qualities that put them at the forefront of their own times would surely still shine in ours.

EDWARD B. FUREY JR.  
Oakdale, N.Y., Aug. 31, 1984



Andrew Weinberg

been-elected-today routine (Op-Ed article Aug. 28)?

Anyway, the thesis is nonsense. George Washington had the quality of gravitas that marked him as a serious man. His war record commanded respect. He was the living embodiment of republican virtue, the most admired man of his time.

Had the technology of television been available, so would the services of good dentists. But Americans didn't want George Washington to be

### Of Ferraro, Cuomo and Moral Issues Confused With Dogma

To the Editor:

In his Aug. 26 letter, Cushing Strout raised the issue of a Catholic politician's responsibility to his or her moral beliefs (specifically, abortion) and sought to illuminate it by reviewing Lincoln's approach to slavery.

Lincoln was morally opposed to slavery, wrote Professor Strout, but was willing to make compromises. He accepted the legal obligation to return slaves to their owners and even considered guaranteeing slavery in the South if it would preserve the Union. The professor might also have cited Lincoln's support for compensation of slave owners upon the loss of a valuable asset.

What is disappointing about Professor Strout's comparison is that he does not develop it to a satisfactory conclusion but simply ends by stating that politicians like Geraldine Ferraro and Mario Cuomo "... are at least right to know that politics cannot simply accept moral ideas without any work of translation." I would like to attempt some translating.

Representative Ferraro and Governor Cuomo have stated that they are

personally opposed to abortion but will not impose their religious beliefs on others. At the outset, they have based their position on a false assumption, since opposition to abortion is not a religious belief. It is one of many moral issues which the Catholic Church has taken a stand on — as have other faiths and other groups with no Catholic connection.

Such politicians are confusing moral issues with dogmas, e.g., the Trinity, the Immaculate Conception, the divinity of Christ. The church has frequently taken a stand on similar moral issues. In his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Leo XIII espoused the cause of the working man, including the right to a just wage. Racial and religious discrimination and nuclear war have also been condemned, both by the Papacy and by official and unofficial congregations of bishops.

If these are truly "religious" beliefs, then they are daily being "imposed on others," such as employers and landlords, who may sincerely believe that they have the right to control their own businesses or rental properties. One must conclude that Catholic

politicians should either look for a new argument or, better yet, have the courage of their moral convictions.

Which brings us back to President Lincoln. True, Lincoln was willing to compromise some of his positions on slavery, but he did so only to effect his overriding goal — slavery's eventual abolition. Similarly, if a person in public office is morally convinced that abortion is the unwarranted taking of innocent human life, that person should seek to eliminate, so far as is reasonably possible, what he or she perceives to be a grievous wrong.

Compromises may have to be made, the most obvious exceptions being in cases of rape, incest, mental instability or danger to the life of the mother, but if one honestly believes in the moral rectitude of a cause, one should not cravenly use religion as an excuse for inaction.

If Abraham Lincoln had taken the same position toward slavery that Mr. Cuomo and Mrs. Ferraro have taken toward abortion, slavery could well have extended into the 20th century.

ALFRED G. BOYLAN  
Rochester, Aug. 30, 1984

### How to Get an Answer From the Vice President

To the Editor:

Vice President Bush did not return a phone call from William Safire on Sept. 5, and that resulted in a number of inaccurate and, quite frankly, snooty criticisms of the Vice President in Mr. Safire's Sept. 6 column.

Mr. Safire called, demanding that the Vice President be summoned to phone him regarding the Libyan-Moroccan merger, as he put it. When it was explained to him that the Vice President was en route to Paducah, Ky., from Houston, Safire informed a staff member that the Vice President could call him immediately after he deplaned, using the Secret Service telephone at the bottom of the ramp.

Mr. Safire later was called back by a member of the staff, who explained that the Vice President was awaiting a full explanation from the Moroccan Government on recent developments there and would not be able to call.

Mr. Bush met today with Moroccan Royal Counselor Guedira, who is in the United States to brief various U.S. officials on his Government's position on the issue of concern to Mr. Safire.

Because he did not return his call, Mr. Safire charged that the Vice President was campaigning in a "media-free cocoon." If Mr. Safire really wanted an answer of some sort, his colleague Gerald Boyd, who was with the Vice President and who attended six Vice Presidential news conferences in little more than 48 hours, could have conveyed the query to him.

Furthermore, the statement that "Mr. Bush is ducking questions because the Administration does not have a position" is nonsense.

Mr. Safire should know from his service in the Nixon Administration that high Government officials' disinclination to discuss sensitive foreign policy details with reporters and columnists does not mean that the Government has no position on the issue.

There is more than one way to receive an answer from the Vice President of the United States without demanding a phone call because "I'm on deadline," and there is no reason to justify the reporting of fiction in an otherwise serious column.

PETER TEELEY  
Assistant to the Vice President  
and Press Secretary  
Washington, Sept. 6, 1984

### Arab-American's Error

To the Editor:

In an Aug. 28 Op-Ed article ["Slighting Arab-Americans"], James Abourezk says I returned five \$1,000 checks contributed by Arab-Americans to Walter Mondale's campaign "with a statement that it was policy to refuse contributions from Arab-Americans for the Mondale campaign." I have never made such a statement, and the Mondale campaign has no such policy. The checks were returned because of a misunderstanding of the purpose of the meeting between the Arab-Americans and Mr. Mondale during which the checks were written. When Mr. Abourezk made his allegation, he knew or should have known that it was untrue.

THOMAS B. ROSENBERG  
Washington, Aug. 31, 1984  
The writer is Illinois finance chairman of the Mondale/Ferraro campaign.

## Topics

### The Good Old Days

#### Hoyt, Hurt

Wake Hoyt, who died recently at the age of 84, was one of the all-time great New York Yankees pitchers, one of baseball's all-time great storytellers and the subject of some good stories himself, including one that immortalizes the Brooklyn accent.

Though he was born in Brooklyn and finished his pitching career with the Brooklyn Dodgers, he did not have the accent of natives who omit the letter "r" from some words, like "boids," and insert it into words without one, like "uri," olive or engine.

But one day during his time with the Dodgers, the story goes, the radio broadcaster spoke with just such an accent. Suddenly, the batter slammed a line drive right at the pitcher, knocking him down. "Oh, no!" the Brooklyn broadcaster exclaimed. "Hurt's hurt!"

#### Big Chill

As one who has had many a small appliance die more or less in her arms, a consumer we know has learned that sometimes it's cheaper

to replace than to repair. Toasters, for instance, are seldom worth the money it takes to bring them back to life. Neither are hair dryers and the occasional tape recorder. But until this week she hadn't realized that refrigerators were sneaking into the same category.

Hers, which cost \$480 four years ago, collapsed this week. When she asked a repairman how come, he replied, "Sometimes the manufacturers don't put in such good parts" and waved the gadget he'd just extracted from the ailing box's innards. Then he replaced it with its exact duplicate, and presented her with a bill for \$145.

But there is no reason to assume this gadget will live any longer than its predecessor, and another service call is likely in another four years. By that time a \$145 repair may cost about \$200, which means that repairs will have cost two-thirds of what it cost to buy the whole thing.

That's enough to make one ponder replacing the box instead of fixing it, even if the replacement price is up another couple of hundred dollars by then as well.

Does that reflect the collapse of Yankee ingenuity, or just its replace-


ment by a new kind of planned obsolescence?

#### Broadway Rhythm

One day last week a jazz trio — young men on trumpet and drums, young woman on bass — was performing near Times Square. A passerby stopped in front of the bassist and started dancing. The bassist started dancing right back, but without missing a beat. And a second passerby, who'd just seen "The Bandwagon" on television, thought about Fred Astaire.

In "The Bandwagon," Fred danced in a Times Square penny arcade with a shoeshine man and the quintessential pinball machine. Given a street-corner trio to work with instead, the passerby imagined him twirling the bass, turning the trumpet into a cane and playing the drums with his feet.

When the trio finished its number, the audience applauded both the music and the impromptu pas de deux. But that second passerby was applauding something else as well: a terrific number that Fred Astaire had just danced only for her.



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# The New Politics of Who We Are

By Horace W. Busby

WASHINGTON—Americans often assume that their national politics is the result of their politicians. It is the other way around: our Presidents, Senators and Representatives are themselves results, not causes.

No incumbent better illustrates this than President Reagan. He is not the cause of the country's current conservatism. Rather, his Presidency is the result of a conservatizing trend in the electorate that began while he was still a liberal Democrat.

Politicians and parties, philosophies and ideologies play a part, of course, but most of the time American politics is what the people are, reflecting their lives, experiences and understandings—the characteristics that are measured by demography.

What the American people are, in this decade, is new. Since 1970, the population has grown by more than 28 million, equivalent to adding another Connecticut, New Jersey and New York. In this new population, there are more women (119 million), more men (113 million) and more young adults 18 to 24 years old (30 million) than at any other time past.

There are more married couples (50 million), more divorced people (114 people per 1,000 married couples) and more people living alone (21 million). Significantly, there are more men and women over age 65 (27 million), more over 85 (2.5 million) and many more over 100 (32,000). One startling demographic detail: in the 1980's, 210 Americans, mostly women, are turning 100 every week.

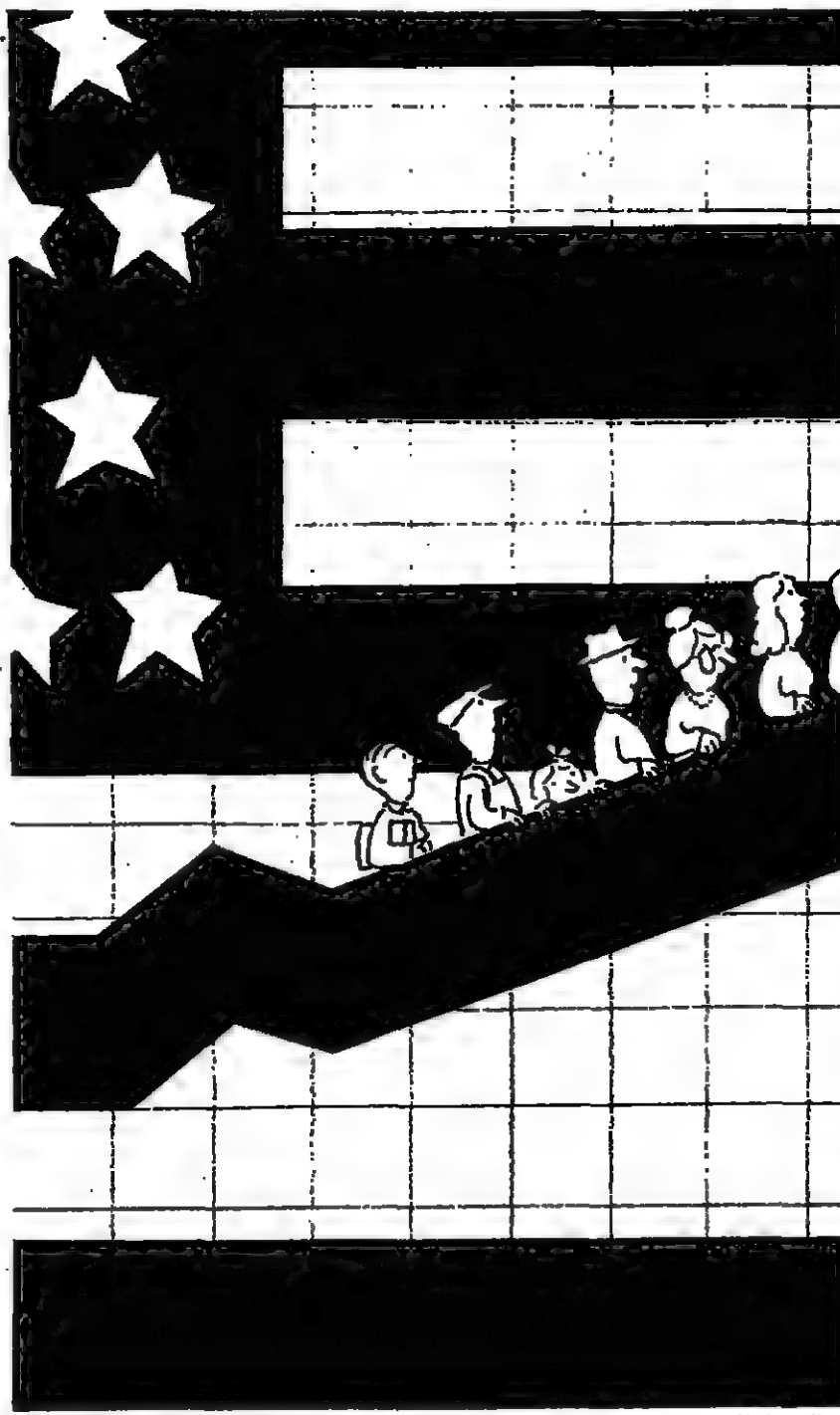
This barely hints at the volume and variety, much less the significance, of the changes bubbling in the nation's demographic stewpot. The implications reach to every sector—business, advertising, education, entertainment, the professions and even religion—but the most consequential effect, by far, is the impact of the new demographics on American politics.

That effect begins with the composition of the electorate. At present, there are more than 90 million adults between ages 20 and 44, the largest number ever. By a ratio of 3 to 2, they outnumber older adults in the 45 to 75 age brackets. Since younger Americans usually delay voting regularly until their mid-30's, the 20 to 44 year olds are not yet participating fully in national elections. By 1992, however, Americans born since 1940 should dominate the voting in Presidential elections, having the effect of installing a new American electorate.

In this decade and beyond, then, a majority of American voters will be viewing politics through new and different prisms of experience. Consider, for example, the experience of war. Since the start of the two-party contest, seven wars have cost the nation 566,000 lives and, in 1984 dollars, almost \$900 trillion of its resources. These searing experiences have had a powerful effect on politics. In the first elections after World Wars I and II and after the start of the Korean and Vietnam wars, voters shifted party control of either the White House or Congress. A similar change also occurred in 1976, in the first Presidential election after the end of the Vietnam War.

In the 1980's, demographics make it clear that past wars are fading from the memory of the electorate. Ninety-three percent of today's Americans have no memory of World War I, 78

Horace W. Busby publishes *The Busby Papers*, analyzing long-range political trends for corporate subscribers. This article was adapted from a longer essay in the *Public Affairs Council 1984 Public Affairs Review*.



Mark Kasten

percent have no memory of World War II. Korea is not part of the experience of 64 percent, and 42 percent are too young to recall Vietnam. Clearly, the divisiveness of the nation's wars is being erased from the electorate's memory.

What's more, as the current younger adults approach 45 and come to dominate the electorate, it is not necessarily true that they will exert a liberalizing influence. It is only a

## Demography, more than ideology, augurs shifts

stereotype that youth equates with liberalism. Indeed, the national surveys of the present 20 to 44 age bracket indicate a strong bias toward conservatism: these young Americans are, in fact, two to three times more favorable to Ronald Reagan's re-election than are adults over 65.

A related, and crucial, shift will affect the composition of our leadership. Since the earliest days of the Republic, the nation's political leaders, elected and unelected, have been drawn from among people between 45

and 65 years old. At present, this generation numbers 44.4 million. Over the next decade, some 21 million (49 percent) will move into an older age bracket, to be succeeded by almost 30 million younger newcomers who will become the leadership generations' new majority by a margin of 53 to 47 percent.

The portents of this turnover are significant. For four decades, since World War II, successive generations of political leadership have been shaped by a common set of experiences: not only the wars abroad, but also the Great Depression, advances in technology and medicine, the onset of the nuclear age, urbanization of a rural population and more. Those experiences did not shape the emerging new majority: hence, political leadership will be passing to a generation having very different understandings, perceptions and, most likely, priorities.

Nor, certainly, is the emerging preponderance of this new age group the only demographic shift changing our politics today. Perhaps the most familiar change is the geographical one—the fact that many American voters are already viewing Washington and national affairs through very different regional prisms. The 1980 census determined that the majority now lives in the Sun Belt and the West, and indeed the states of those regions now account for a majority of seats in the House of Representatives and Senate, as well as in the Electoral College.

What most people don't understand is that this historic shift challenges both parties. The industrial-state

heartland of the Republican Party, for example, is being hollowed out by the migrations westward and southward, forcing it to seek new strength in the West and the South, where the party faces a hostile history. At the same time, this shift of population is diminishing the influence of the Democratic Party's familiar bases in the Northeast, while transferring the party's strength into the energy, agriculture and anti-union "right-to-work" states of the Sun Belt.

Yet a third kind of shift, and one of the most significant for politics, is the change in levels of educational attainment. Fifty years ago, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was installing the New Deal, more than 85 percent of American males had less than a high school education, and less than half had completed the elementary grades. It is very different now. In 1982, 82 percent of all people 25 to 34, male and female, and 71 percent of all people 35 to 64, had completed high school. The effects of this educational transformation are profound: a more self-reliant populace is less attracted to Government intervention and, at the same time, is more disposed to be independent of party dictates.

As demographics help us measure change from the past, so also do they measure the dimensions of the challenges ahead. For example, people over the age of 65 will make up one-fifth of the population early in the next century, and they will be heavily dependent on an already burdened Social Security system. At present, there are 5.3 active workers for every Social Security beneficiary. By the year 2000, the ratio will drop to 4.7, then to 2.7 in 2030. Because taxes on active workers pay most of the retirement benefits, the existing arrangements could prove to be economically and politically unsustainable.

Closer at hand is another challenge at the lower end of the age scale. The supply of entry-level workers will fall during this decade. In 1990, there will be 7.1 million fewer people between the ages of 15 and 24 than in 1980, and the decline will continue into the next century. This points to unprecedented "bidding wars" for the services of entry-level workers in labor-intensive businesses.

The new demographics make it clear that Americans are becoming a new people. And if politics is what the people are, American politics is moving into a new age. By many measurements—age, income, regional residence, health, diet, fitness and more—Americans today are simply unlike any Americans before them, and this, more than anything we think we have rationally or deliberately chosen in the voting booth, is reshaping our politics to accommodate our new life.

WASHINGTON | James Reston

## Reagan's the Issue

WASHINGTON

The longer this election goes on, the more apparent it is that Ronald Reagan himself is the main issue.

The Republicans are counting on it to win in November. The Democrats are divided on the prudence of attacking the President personally, but Walter Mondale is gradually coming to the view that the President's competence and theatrical illusions must be brought under sharper scrutiny.

Mr. Reagan is vulnerable on at least three fundamental questions: his ability to get the nuclear arms race and the budget deficits under control, his partiality toward the rich and his determination to appoint personal friends and ideological conservatives to key executive and judicial positions.

He has recently been speaking more about peace and arms control, but his relations with the Russians have deteriorated so far in the last three years that the chances of his relieving the nuclear menace are questionable at best.

Mr. Mondale has raised the arms and debt issues but has not brought them down to the harsh reality they deserve. The facts are clear enough: While Mr. Reagan tours the country talking about how much stronger and safer we are than in 1980, the truth is that every day the Soviet Union now produces four and a half new nuclear weapons, the United States produces one and a half new nuclear weapons, and the interest on the present U.S. debt alone now costs the nation \$300 million more every day.

And "You ain't seen nothing yet," he proclaimed in his Labor Day speech. What we "ain't seen" are the consequences of these alarming statistics or of appointments to the Supreme Court and other offices he is likely to make if he is re-elected for another four years. What we have seen is a series of one-act plays or vaudeville acts by an accomplished actor.

The other day, Hugh Sidey of Time magazine asked the President: What about a poverty-ridden young black in a ghetto with no father, no money, no education, no hope?

Mr. Reagan replied: "I know this is oversimplification, but it's the only way to answer the question. Basically the Democratic Party has said, 'We'll take care of you. We'll see that you have food and shelter.' But then what is he? He is as beholden to that government institution as he was beholden in slavery to the fellow who lived in the big house on the hill."

"Our party is saying to them: 'We want equality of opportunity. The only barrier will be within yourself as to your own ability to achieve your dreams...'"

## And Mondale should run with it

One day the President talks in this vein and the next day says that "our lives are here to serve others." One day he denounces the Soviet leaders as cunning men who preside over an "evil empire" and will lie or cheat or do anything else to achieve their objective of world domination. And he is then surprised when the Russians ignore his hopes for banishing all nuclear weapons from the world, if not from outer space.

There is no coherence to this jumble of good intentions and dreamy prospects. He talks about reducing the influence of government on personal life, but wants organized prayer in the public schools and Federal funds for parochial schools.

He's against abortion and budget deficits and the equal rights amendment for women, but presides over the largest budget deficit in history, all this while calling for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget and demanding that the Congress enhance his power to veto any item in any bill passed by Congress.

It's no wonder then that a candidate with such a riot and confusion of policies should be the main issue in the election campaign. The wonder is that Mr. Mondale has been so ineffective in campaigning against it, and that the President, at his age, promising more of the same, should still be so far ahead in the popularity polls.

Will this change in the next two months? Not unless reading and thinking suddenly become popular. Criticizing the candidates is permissible, but not criticizing the voters. It's assumed that they are studying the issues rather than the personalities involved, but there's little evidence to support this assumption.

What we are seeing so far in this election is a triumph of personality over policy, of political television advertising over substance and of wishes over realities. But you can't blame Ronald Reagan entirely for all this. He does not deny the facts of the arms race or the deficits. He jokes about his age and bombing the Russians, and adds, "You ain't seen nothing yet." On this point he's probably right, but nobody quite knows whether this is a promise or a threat.

IN THE NATION | Tom Wicker

## Standing by Jefferson

Having unwisely injected religion into the Presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan now protests fulsomely that he didn't mean to promote any one religion over another, or all others. No, indeed—the only religion Mr. Reagan has openly sought to promote is religion itself. But that's the trouble.

For one thing, Jews, Moslems and others can hardly be blamed for taking the obvious inference from Mr. Reagan's own professions of faith and choice of religious associates—both of which he often emphasizes. They fear reasonably enough that as the Christian President of a nation in which Christians are a huge majority, he actually, if not publicly or even intentionally, promotes Christianity when he promotes religion.

For another thing, many Christians must find themselves discomfited by Mr. Reagan's contention that morality cannot exist without religion. James Madison argued in 1785 that if some power could establish Christianity as the only permitted religion, the same power could establish a particular Christian sect to the exclusion of others. Just so with morality—if it can be held to depend upon religion, it can be held to depend upon some particular religion.

Ubiquitous advisers having perhaps reproved him for going too far, Mr. Reagan insisted to B'nai B'rith International that Americans were free to choose their own religion "or to choose no religion at all." But that contradicted the argument he had made to a far different audience, about 10,000 people at a prayer breakfast at the Republican National Convention in Dallas. Then Mr. Reagan argued that "politics and morality are inseparable. And as morality's foundation is religion... we need

## Prescience about the issue of faith

religion as a guide." And he added: "If you practice a religion, whether you're Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or guided by some other faith, then your private life will be influenced by a sense of moral obligation. And so, too, will your public life. One affects the other."

This is not only poppycock on the face of it, since many practicing Catholics, Protestants and Jews, including officials of the last two Republican Administrations, have demonstrated no "sense of moral obligation," but also as clear a statement this President can make of his belief that if you aren't religious, you will have no "sense of moral obligation" in your private or public life.

So much for freedom to "choose no religion at all." So much for those who so choose. So much for the idea that the government and/or its officials have no right to bring religious pressures of any kind on any American.

At the same breakfast, Mr. Reagan also questioned the motives and sincerity of those who oppose his constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in public schools; though they claim, he said, to act "in the name of tolerance, freedom and open-mindedness... isn't the real truth that they are intolerant of religion?"

Once again, the note-too-subtle

pressure: If you oppose his amendment, you oppose prayer in the schools, hence you oppose religion; and if you oppose religion you have no "sense of moral obligation."

In fact, those who oppose the Reagan amendment (including Barry Goldwater; does Mr. Reagan suppose him impious?) oppose organized prayer in the public schools, whether voluntary or not. They oppose it because organized prayer—like the President himself—officially promotes religion, which chills those who are not religious as well as those who may be but do not believe in officially promoting religion. And it's all too likely that what would most often be officially promoted would be Christianity.

So it's not "the real truth"—is there such a thing?—that those who oppose organized prayer in the schools are "intolerant of religion." The political truth, a more modest matter, is that Mr. Reagan is angling for the votes of religious Americans, particularly those who are fundamentalist, evangelical or socially conservative. He may find, however, that more Americans than he supposes stand with a greater communicator than he will ever be, from whose pen flowed the magisterial Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom of 1786:

"Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities."

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# Hollywood's High-Stakes Season

By LAWRENCE VAN GELDER

To paraphrase an old song, how're you going to lure them back to the box office after they've seen gremlins, ghostbusters and gyrating rock stars?

By keeping them down on the farm. If there is a single fresh pattern woven into the season of motion pictures about to begin, it is Hollywood's newfound affection for the drama and sturdy virtues of farmfolk, especially the women. In the weeks and months to come, no less than three major productions — each set on a farm, each with a major female star — will be released; and one of them, "Country," starring Jessica Lange and Sam Shepard, has been accorded the honor of opening this year's New York Film Festival on Sept. 28.

As always, the advent of autumn brings with it a renewed sense of excitement and competition, peaking toward Christmas, when studios release cherished productions in hopes that fresh memories will yield a bountiful harvest when the Academy Awards are bestowed come spring. Coupled with the excitement is uncertainty. Which highly touted new films will fall flat? What unexpected hit will usher in a new cycle of imitations? What hot director will construct a self-indulgent dud? What stars will suddenly lose their grip on audiences? What success will breed a multimillion-dollar cornucopia of byproducts: best-selling records, popular books, a television series, toys and T-shirts?

No crystal ball reveals the answer to such questions, only the unfolding of the season itself. The motion picture industry is far from a fabulous invalid, but it is a high stakes game, and the expensive risks of failure and the awesome rewards of success lend an undercurrent of drama to a contemplation of the schedule.

While the forthcoming farm movies constitute a relative novelty, the season ahead is characterized by a generous admixture of the familiar with the new: new offerings by well-regarded directors, new vehicles for famous stars; screen versions of established properties from the theater, opera, and fiction from classics to comics; the continuation of trends, such as the affinity for extraterrestrials and the affection for sequels; and new examples of popular genres — spy stories, science-fiction, comedy and romance. And, to round out the



John Lithgow ventures into space in "2010," based on the Arthur C. Clarke novel and continuing the adventure begun in "2001."



Mel Gibson and Sissy Spacek star in "The River," directed by Mark Rydell and dealing with a family's struggle to hold on to its land.

the family in "The River," directed by Mark Rydell ("On Golden Pond"). Among other notable directors — American and foreign — with new films on the schedule are Lina Wertmüller, John Sayles, Volker Schlöndorff, Milos Forman, Francesco Rosi, Michael Apted, Werner Herzog, Andrzej Wajda and Francis Coppola. Miss Wertmüller turns a sardonic eye on the state of Italy and the world in "The Sedition," opening Wednesday. Mr. Sayles brings an escaped black extraterrestrial slave and two pursuers to Harlem in "The Brother From Another Planet," beginning Friday. On the same day, after several delays, Mr. Schlöndorff's rendition of Proust, "Swann in Love," starring Jeremy Irons, is scheduled to open.

The many postponements of "Swann" suggest a warning to moviegoers: Schedules are subject to change. Movies announced for Christmas have a way of being shifted to other dates as studios assess the competition and decide the chances of box-office success might be improved by an opening during an autumn lull or by waiting until the early part of next year when some anticipated hit has revealed itself to be box-office poison, leaving theaters avid for new films. Sometimes a pattern of releases — a glut of movies in a particular genre — prompts a studio to counterprogram in hope of attracting an audience eager for alternative fare. "An Officer and a Gentleman," which was opened by Paramount against summertime's juvenile fare in 1982, was a classic example of counterprogramming success.

Like Mr. Schlöndorff with "Swann," Milos Forman has drawn from literature for his new film. But in his case, it is the literature of the theater — Peter Shaffer's hit "Amadeus," to be exact. The film features Tom Hulce as the foul-mouthed genius Mozart and F. Murray Abraham as his homicidal rival Salieri. And Francesco Rosi has drawn from opera, with "Bizet's Carmen" (to differentiate it from all the other "Carmen"-inspired productions of 1984), starring Plácido Domingo as Don José and Julia Migenes Johnson as the temptress.

From the theater, too, comes "A

Soldier's Story," opening Friday — Charles Fuller's adaptation of his Pulitzer Prize-winning drama about the murder of a black soldier near an Army base in the South during World War II. And Christmas time will see the release of "Mass Appeal," starring Jack Lemmon and Zeljko Ivanek and taken from the Bill C. Davis play about a confrontation between a rebellious young seminarian and a conservative, middle-aged priest.

Aside from "Swann," classic fiction gives the screen "A Passage to India" in December. In his first film in a dozen years, David Lean, the director of "The Bridge on the River Kwai," "Lawrence of Arabia," and "Doctor Zhivago" has cast Peggy Ashcroft, Judy Davis, Alec Guinness and James Fox in the film inspired by the E. M. Forster novel exploring English-Indian tensions.

Popular literature is also providing grist for the movie mill: "The Little Drummer Girl," John le Carré's best-selling suspense novel of enmity in the Middle East, yields a starring role for Diane Keaton. "A Love in Germany," a novel by Rolf Hochhuth about a love affair between a German woman and a Polish prisoner of war in 1941, is the source of Andrzej Wajda's latest film, starring Hanna Schygulla. Elmore Leonard's "Stick," about an ex-convict hired as a millionaire promoter's chauffeur, stars Burt Reynolds, George Segal and Candice Bergen.

From the pen of Rebecca West, through the medium of a screenplay by Hugh Whitmore ("Stevie") comes "The Return of the Soldier," with Julie Christie, Alan Bates and Ann-Margret, about a shellshocked young English soldier back from World War I. And the early days of aviation are the setting for "The Aviator," adapted from the Ernest K. Gann novel, it casts Christopher Reeve as a courageous pilot emotionally scarred by an accident.

Science-fiction and sequels are the category occupied by "2010," based on the Arthur C. Clarke novel and continuing the exploration of man's destiny in the universe that was begun in "2001." Roy Scheider, John Lithgow and Helen Mirren are among the stars. Also scheduled for a December opening is "Dune," based

on Frank Herbert's popular science-fiction and boasting a huge cast, including Jose Ferrer, Richard Jordan and Silvana Mangano.

Maybe "Supergirl" is not literature, but it's certainly popular fiction. From the people who gave moviegoers "Superman" and two sequels comes an adventure about the cousin of the Man of Steel. Helen Slater plays the title role, with a supporting cast that includes Faye Dunaway, Peter Cook and Mia Farrow.

As for Bill Murray, will they love him in October as they did in June? Back in June, Mr. Murray opened in "Ghostbusters," the comedy that proved to be one of the smash hits of summer. In October, Mr. Murray turns serious, taking on the Tyroone Power role in the latest adaptation of "The Razor's Edge," based on the Somerset Maugham novel about a man's quest for serenity.

Last year at this time, the schedule showed a trend toward topicality. On the horizon were such films as "Under Fire," "Hanna K" and "Silkwood." This year, headlines seem to have yielded up only "The Killing Fields," based on Sydney H. Schanberg's article in The New York Times Magazine about the former foreign correspondent and his Cambodian friend and colleague Dith Pran.

Other continuing trends include extraterrestrials, divorce, friendship and break dancing. Besides John Sayles's contribution, there is "Starman," directed by John Carpenter, with Jeff Bridges as a stranded alien who takes the form of the recently deceased husband of a widow played by Karen Allen. The "Kramer vs. Kramer" trend is apparently still manifest in "Irreconcilable Differences," which finds Drew Barrymore suing her parents (Ryan O'Neal and Shelley Long) for divorce; and in Michael Apted's "First Born," with Teri Garr and Peter Weller, wherein two children save their divorced mother from a destructive relationship. "Windy City," with John Shea, Kate Capshaw and Josh Mostel, is an Armenian Bernstein story of love and friendship that has been likened to "The Big Chill."

Among traditional genres, neither romance nor comedy is dead. Meryl Streep and Robert De Niro play the lovers in Uta Groszord's "Falling in Love," which has been likened to the British classic "Brief Encounter." In comedy, Eddie Murphy plays a tough Detroit cop searching for a friend's killer in Beverly Hills. Goldie Hawn turns up in "Protocol" as an insouciant cocktail waitress suddenly catapulted into the post of the State Department's chief of protocol. And in

## Arts & Leisure



Alec Guinness stars in "A Passage to India," the David Lean film based on the E. M. Forster novel.

"Johnny Dangerously," with Michael Keaton, gangster movies are spoofed.

Other new releases of more than passing interest include Werner Herzog's "Where the Green Ants Dream," about Australian aborigines; "Teachers," with Nick Nolte, a satirical look at America's educa-

tional system; Sidney Lumet's "Garbo Talks," with Anne Bancroft as a tough New Yorker in quest of a meeting with the reclusive movie star; "Comfort and Joy," a new creation by Scotland's Bill Forsyth; "Give My Regards to Broad Street," starring Paul McCartney; "Bay Boy," a suspense story with Liv Ullmann; "Body Double," a Brian De Palma movie variously described as sexy or suspenseful and perhaps both; "Henry IV," starring Marcello Mastroianni in a screen version of the Pirandello play; Alan Parker's "Birdy," a story of two boys growing up in Philadelphia; "The Slugger's Wife," a Neil Simon love story set against a baseball background; and Richard Benjamin's "City Heat" co-starring — for the first time — Clint Eastwood (as a cop) and Burt Reynolds (as a private eye).

And last, but not least, is "The Cotton Club," starring Richard Gere and Diane Lane in a tale of life in the 1920's and 30's in a nightclub where the underworld and society meet. With millions at stake, with a history of controversy, with Francis Coppola trying to shake off a string of failures, "The Cotton Club" is a microcosm of the season.

The names and the story line are full of promise. But all that matters in the end is what appears on the screen.



Sam Waterston and Haing J. Ngor play the leads in "The Killing Fields," about the bond between an American foreign correspondent and his Cambodian colleague.



Sting appears in "Dune," drawn from the Frank Herbert's science fiction and directed by David Lynch.

scene, an assortment of festivals will celebrate various aspects of the medium.

Among the farm movies, there is not only "Country," which finds Miss Lange and Mr. Shepard in a drama about the travails of modern life on a Middle Western farm, there are also "Places in the Heart," starring Sally Field, Ed Harris and John Malkovich, and "The River," with Sissy Spacek, Mel Gibson and Scott Glenn. In "Places in the Heart," directed by Robert Benton ("Kramer vs. Kramer") and drawn from his recollections of Texas boyhood during the Depression, a widowed mother battles to save her farm from foreclosure. As in "Country," too, the struggle to preserve a way of life engages



Adolph Caesar and Denzel Washington square off in "A Soldier's Story," adapted by Charles Fuller from his Pulitzer Prize-winning play.



In "A Sunday in the Country," directed by Bertrand Tavernier, Sabine Azema plays a daughter who pays a surprise visit to her father, a noted painter.

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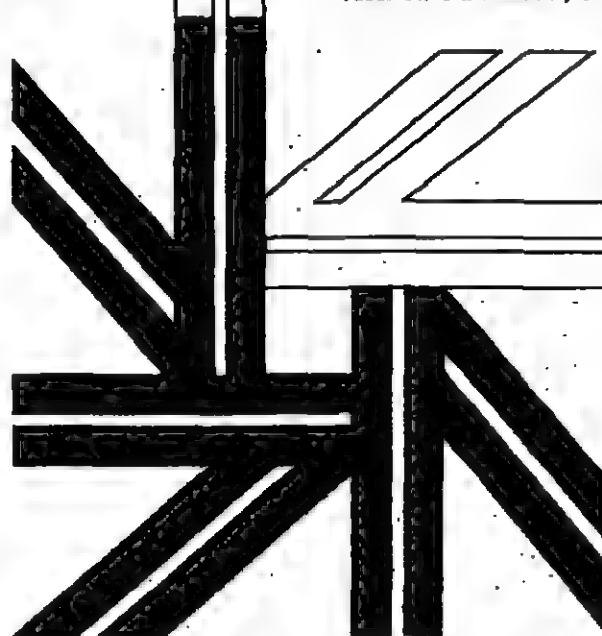
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THE UNITED NATIONS Relief and Welfare Agency's (UNRWA) headquarters in Jerusalem are located in a compound hidden at the end of a quiet street and behind a stone wall between Sheikh Jarrah and Ramat Eshkol. The freshly painted gate is attended by a neat, polite guard, who waves one through into a meticulously neat and ordered environment - something of a relic of the mandatory administration.

Trucks and cars are parked in tidy rows on recently swept asphalt. Warehouses and offices are well maintained and carefully marked with large signs in English. Even the rose-beds are laid out with the precision that betrays the habits and style of so many expatriate administrators. There is something decidedly old-world and reassuring about it. There is also nothing like it in the West Bank, Gaza or Israel.

Roy Skinner, the outgoing UNRWA director in the West Bank, left last week to run the organization's operations in Syria. A dapper, 58-year-old former Australian army major, he has served in the Middle East for 19 years: 17 of them with UNRWA. For the past nine years, he has been with the agency in the West Bank and Gaza.

During these years, UNRWA and its senior officials have had to weather severe tests, ranging from curfews in the camps, closures of some of their institutions, and a shrinking budget to the war in Lebanon. But the most insidious challenge lies in the diminishing relevance of the agency's mandate.

CREATED BY the United Nations General Assembly in the wake of the 1948 War of Independence, UNRWA was charged with caring for

# Dispensing humanity

By DAVID RICHARDSON / Jerusalem Post Reporter



Roy Skinner... 'The civil servant avoids politics.'

(Newitz)

the Palestinian refugees displaced by the creation of the State of Israel. Thirty-four years since it began to operate, it finds itself constantly accused, not only by donors and outside observers but by Palestinians themselves, of, in effect, perpetuating the refugee problem.

It is also competing in the tight market of international charity against other refugee agencies whose demonstrable needs are far more acute. Nothing in the Middle East today approaches the plight of the refugees of the droughts and wars of the Horn of Africa.

The past year has seen several studies by internal UN groups and outside consultants appointed by the UNRWA commissioner, General Olaf Rydbeck, which all, apparently, touched on the sticky problem of the agency's role and image.

Essentially, this is unfair to the agency and its bureaucrats. They did not create the problem, or draft the mandate, which was never intended by itself to solve the problem of the Palestinian refugees. Nor, it seems, do they have the power to modify that mandate.

Skinner, then, as a veteran field service officer who has worked with UNRWA in Jordan, the West Bank and Gaza, has found himself constantly at the hub of the conflicting demands the refugees, governments and other bodies make on the agency. But he is also, by inclination, training and habit, a totally professional public servant. In the UN

context "professional" also means wholly apolitical.

In fact, keeping an eye on his next and admittedly sensitive posting (he is being exchanged with given two days to leave Syria, with no explanation) Skinner almost attaches an especially

high value to the role of the "international civil servant."

"I consider it the task of the professional public servant working with an agency such as UNRWA to provide humanitarian and public services to clients - in this case the Palestinian refugees. The civil ser-

vant avoids politics and endeavours to uphold the highest standard of efficiency and professionalism as a UN public servant."

PALESTINIANS - particularly the young and better educated among them - as well as outside observers have faulted the agency for what they see as its basic commitment to its own survival and for the semi-colonialist or paternalist atmosphere that seems to pervade its institutions.

Skinner rejects these charges, claiming that the role of any bureaucracy is to provide a means to an end rather than to serve as an end in itself.

"It is a machine to provide services - in this case health, education and welfare. When it comes to the charges of colonialism or paternalism, having worked for UNRWA for so long I'm aware of the many different opinions in the Middle East about the organization."

"On balance, UNRWA is an organization charged by the General Assembly with a most unusual public-service task. When you cut out the platitudes, I do believe that they see us positively as a public service. I think a number would like us to be more than that, but the agency has no role whatsoever to play in the search for a political solution."

"Having said that, UNRWA, by its very existence and its activities, has provided a type of stability which would have been missing in the ab-

sence of a solution to the basic problem."

IN THE NINE YEARS he has served in the areas under Israeli military control, Skinner has seen a significant increase in the standard of living - and particularly in the standard of education of the refugee population. "But this is related to other economic factors, and the past few years have seen an increase in unemployment and a rise in the number of unemployed professionals."

UNRWA in the West Bank is now embarked on a re-examination of its vocational training programmes in order to adjust them to the needs of the market open to its graduates.

In the wake of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon and the acute refugee problem that created, Rydbeck decided to suspend the general rationing programme, diverting the commodities the agency had to the refugees in Southern Lebanon and focusing its financial resources on education and health services.

"There was general objection to the move by the refugees everywhere," said Skinner. "But after some months, I believe they realized that the education and health programmes were too important to be reduced. They attach tremendous importance to education. The rationing is now limited to social welfare cases."

During the period he directed operations in the West Bank, Skinner also had to cope with Israeli government plans to "resettle" the refugees - part of former minister Moshe Ben-Porat's scheme to write off the Palestinian refugee problem against that of the Israeli refugees from Arab countries absorbed into Israel following the creation of the state.

The agency's official position was not to object to resettlement in principle, but to insist that the plan be based on the voluntary involvement of the refugees. A promise that "no coercion would be used" was elicited from the Israeli government, but in the absence of a government decision to implement Ben-Porat's recommendations, the whole idea has come to nothing.

Of his contacts with Israeli officials, Skinner would only say that he had "met with understanding" when he made representations based on humanitarian grounds "in an often very difficult environment." More than that, apparently, would be too political.

UNLIKE Palestinian refugees living elsewhere in the Middle East, those of the West Bank and Gaza live among other Palestinians and not among different national groups. Their reactions and moods are conditioned by and reflect those of the area, he said, but again would not elaborate.

The refugee population of the West Bank, currently estimated at 290,000, increases by about 3 per cent a year. Some 80,000 live in 19 camps in the area, which means that a lot of UNRWA's services are provided to people who live outside the camps. The agency employs 2,750 Palestinians supervised by nine expatriate officials. The budget for the current year is \$28 million.

Skinner knows that his new posting must surely be one of the most sensitive a UN official could be faced with. But with only two years to go to the statutory retirement age, he, like so many such public servants, is already beginning to muse on the memoirs he intends to write.

## Differing conceptions

LAW REPORT / Asher Felix Landau

Before the deputy-president, Justice Miriam Ben-Porat, Justice Eliezer Goldberg, and Judge Yaacov Tirkel. In the matter between: Mohammed Wattad and Hamed Haleila, petitioners and the minister of finance, respondent (H.C. 208/83).

THE DISCHARGED SOLDIERS (Reinstatement in Employment) Law of 1949 empowers the minister of labour and social welfare, in consultation with the minister of finance and with the confirmation of the Finance Committee of the Knesset, to make regulations for the payment of grants to discharged soldiers and their families.

According to the petitioners, members of the Knesset and fathers of large families, a representative of

the Treasury had informed the Finance Committee, during a discussion on a proposed increase in the grants to soldiers for their children, that it was proposed to pay the same increase to students in yeshivot (schools for Jewish religious studies) for whom "study was their profession."

The petitioners did not question the principle of compensating fathers of large families for their three years of army service, but they argued that there was no reason why they should not receive the same grants as those paid to others who

had not done army service. They argued that making grants to persons other than soldiers on the model of the above law was against the intention of the legislature, and they also voiced the impression that the government had decided, behind the scenes, to deny the grants in question to Arabs.

The petitioners asked for an order restraining the respondent from making any grants, on the basis of those paid under the above law, other than to soldiers, and from seeking the confirmation of the Finance Committee for such grants.

families, was not unjust discrimination. Where, however, the differences between the two groups related to religion, nationality, race or sex, the distinction was not easy to define, for it depended on the different conceptions of the communities concerned, their accepted values and their desire to protect and strengthen them, and these differed from place to place and from time to time.

THE SUPREME Court had dealt with a similar problem in the case of an Arab who had been refused an apartment in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem since he was not "a citizen and resident of Israel who had served in the army or was released from service, or a new immigrant" - as the conditions required. It was held that he was not the victim of unjust discrimination.

The repopulation of the Jewish Quarter by Jews alone was the result of their having been driven out and their property despoiled. There was no unjust discrimination in preserving the unique character of the Jewish Quarter as that of the Moslem, Christian and Armenian quarters of the city.

The petitioners had alleged that there were no non-Jewish institutions in Israel similar to yeshivot. It was possible, however, that there would be such institutions in the future, and in that event there was no provision in the new criteria to deprive non-Jewish students of the grants. The question still remained, however, whether the grants to yeshiva students did not constitute unjust discrimination for so long as they alone enjoyed this privilege, and this in turn raised the question of the special place occupied among the Jewish people by religious studies and yeshivot throughout the centuries.

Judge Tirkel then cited talmudic and other sources from which he concluded that the granting of special support to yeshiva students was justified, even if there were no similar institutions of other religious groups. This was not unjust discrimination, but a balance of values. He therefore proposed that the application be dismissed.

Justice Miriam Ben-Porat agreed with her colleague. In her opinion, the petition to the court - according to the conceptions of the petitioners - was absolutely reasonable and understandable. They accepted the distinction between those who

served in the army and those not liable for service, and there was, in their view, no reason why all those who did not serve should not be treated equally in respect of grants paid to their families. It was not surprising that they did not understand the significance of the expression "yeshiva student." This was not an Israeli invention but a conception deeply rooted in the history of the Jewish people throughout the years of its exile, fostered as a means of ensuring its continued existence and identity.

The "yeshiva student," who engaged in religious study, was revered by the community as an honored guest, and invited to Jewish homes for meals to relieve him of the burden of supporting himself, and enable him to devote himself entirely to his studies. This time-honored tradition was observed also in the State of Israel, and it was no wonder that the authorities changed the

form of support for these young men, and enabled them to receive financial assistance from the state, as if they had served in the army, instead of having to go from door to door to assuage their needs. Since their sole occupation was study instead of some lucrative calling, they were regarded as worthy of such support.

Nevertheless, the deputy-president continued, the Attorney-General had acted correctly in ruling that connecting the grants to yeshiva students with those paid to discharged soldiers was legally insupportable. This ruling, however, was given after the petition was lodged, and the petitioners, therefore, could not be criticized for approaching the court.

IN CONCLUSION, Justice Ben-Porat also agreed that the fact that there was at present no institution similar to a yeshiva in the non-Jewish communities made no difference. Whatever one's personal opinion may be, the new criteria were reasonable, and they were also non-discriminatory since they entitled all

students, irrespective of their religious affiliation, to enjoy the benefits in question.

Justice Eliezer Goldberg concurred. There could be no doubt, he said, that the government was entitled to assist students in religious institutions who do not support themselves and for whom "study is their profession," provided there was no personal unjust discrimination. The argument that there were no such students in non-Jewish communities in Israel - and perhaps will be no such students in the future - proved in itself that the court was not concerned here with unjust discrimination between equals, but with a legitimate and objective distinction between non-equals.

For the above reasons the application was dismissed, and the respondent ordered to pay the costs of the petitioners in the sum of IS\$9,000.

Advocate Bezalel Rabinovitch appeared for the petitioners, and Advocate Renato Yarak, director of the high court division of the state attorney's office, for the respondent. The judgment was given on July 25, 1984.

## Those weeping mines

RANDOMALIA/Miriam Arad

A GREAT NUMBER of quotable things have been said about life, most of them unfavourable and with reason. Considering humanity as a whole, life's a miserable business to most of the people all of the time. Even if you're tolerably healthy and happy, a rose garden it isn't.

Yet it can't be all bad either, can it, when each day contains two such pleasurable activities as going to bed and getting up.

Going to bed, being many things to many people, one needn't dwell on, except to note that any way you look at it, it involves lying down after you've been up all day, and that must be good in itself. Getting up is a rather more controversial case, and perhaps I'm only speaking for myself if I say that the idea of toast, coffee and the morning paper can lure me out of bed on the coldest morning.

Especially the paper, bad news and all, seeing it offers such recurring delights as those mines of the title. I'm talking of word-splitting, or rather words-pitting which, since it's been computerized, has become fairly sides-pitting as well.

My assumption is that the computer has been programmed to the

effect that a final "s" must not be separated from the word it belongs to, and computers being obedient animals, they provide a pop star with a loudspeaker so he can sing at the peak of his lungs, and a minesweeping helicopter on a dismal mission, sobbing its heart out.

I also assume the computer has been told to keep "st" and "th" combinations intact, enlivening my mornings with information that's firsthand, and with a politician who has a lot of pre-stige, making you wonder what'll happen when he gets to the post-stage stage. I expect a lot of saints are created that way too, including St-raggle, St-rumpet and St-ocking.

Once in a while you're pulled up short by such puzzles as fig-biting, which isn't a misprint for fig-bating but an activity much of mankind indulges in all over the globe; by a person seeking red-ress, presumably having lost his green reas, and by a piece of English furniture called a cons-table, apparently made for swindlers to play poker at.

Of such stuff are my mornings made. A rosegarden it isn't, but an occasional giggle it's worth.

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## WORKSHOP FOR TIMPANI PLAYERS

by SAUL GOODMAN

(U.S.A.)

between September 18 and 23, 1984

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## A festive farewell

MUSIC  
Esther Reuter

addition to great enthusiasm, were apparent throughout the concert.

The programme started with a clear reading of the Verdi overture. Two orchestra members, Erella Beck and Gary Weinstein, gave a good reading of the enjoyable Vival-

di concerto for Two Trumpets and Orchestra. It is a pity that there was a lack of balance between the soloists, which impaired the presentation.

The colourful rendition of "Emek" provided a contrast. Throughout the evening there were many good solos, especially in the flute and clarinet parts.

After the interval the orchestra gave a convincing performance of Dvorak's most famous symphony. Leading with firmness and drive, Schneider elicited alert playing that had a freshness and exuberance matching the joyful mood of the work. The prolonged applause was well earned. It was also a salute to the conductor and the orchestra on its first foreign tour. *Bon Voyage.*

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## Long list of 'buyers only'

The optimism so apparent at the end of last week was clearly not misplaced. Yesterday saw large bids appear for almost every issue registered on the share market, and the result was a long list of "buyers only" or the first or second day, and an even longer list of securities whose prices rose by 5-10 per cent. Some issues which had already been "buyers only" at the end of last week, rose by far more than 10 per cent. In those few cases where offers were available, they were—by the most part—snapped up with no time to spare.

Despite the impression conveyed by the statistics, which show a totally unspiced market, with everyone willing to buy and no one very eager to sell, this situation is regarded as normal and logical by the trading community. If the current rally is "for real," then the long-term investors who have been stocking up shares for months, are unlikely to be pleased until prices have risen by quite a significant margin—in real terms.

The big question remains—is it real or not? The matter of fact is that with which yesterday's sharp rises were greeted does not

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By PINHAS LANDAU

anguish well for the longevity of this rally. From an optimist's point of view, there ought to be more euphoria, but as noted, the frothing prices do not seem to have gone to anyone's head.

"Everybody will watch the news tonight, and then read the papers tomorrow. Only then will they decide what to do next. In fact, because of the reports of opposition in both main parties to the coalition agreement we expected today to be less bullish than it has turned out to be, but people are taking everything very much on a day-to-day basis."

This is how one broker summed up the activity for *The Jerusalem Post*. It may in fact be the case that this attitude turns out to be over-cautious, but the traders who have jumped on signs of a turnaround several times in the past, have learnt through bitter experience to tread carefully. There is also another element in their caution. They do not believe that anything fundamental, in the economic sphere, has occurred to justify anything more than a short rally. While pleased to see a broad government emerging at last,

### MARKET STATISTICS

**Indices**  
General Share Index 349.28 +4.28%  
Non-bank Index 261.73 +4.96%  
Arrangement 409.58 +3.02%  
Bank Index Industrial 284.85 +4.56%  
Bond Index 311.34 +1.45%

**Turnovers**  
Shares IS 954.2m.  
Bonds IS 933.6m.  
Totals IS1907.8m.  
Advances 408  
Declines 26  
of which 5% + 4  
of which 5% - 84  
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"Sellers only" 1

**Bond market trends**  
4% fully-linked: Rises to 2%  
3% fully-linked: Rises to 2%  
80% linked: Stable/Rises to 2%  
90% linked: Mixed to 3%  
Double-option: Mixed to 3%  
Dollars-linked: Rises to 3-5%

**Most Active Shares**  
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Clal Leasing IS0.5 267 +87 +43.5%  
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they have reservations as to its capability to function effectively, and will have to be convinced, by its actions rather than its declarations, before they commit themselves wholeheartedly to the market.

**Announcements:**  
The number of companies who have yet to publish results for the 1983/84 year had gone down to 59 by the end of last week. Yesterday saw only seven more results announced.

**Crystal Electric Products**, one of the main distributors of imported electrical appliances, reported an adjusted loss of IS4 million for the year ending March 31, 1984. In the preceding year, the company made a profit of IS96.5m. in equivalent terms.

**Nikav Computers** lost an adjusted IS96m. in 1983/84, after making an equivalent profit of IS19.4m. in 1982/83. The company has invested heavily in marketing its software programmes in South Africa, which it hopes will bring it profits in the coming years.

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Hannishur 2 1621 1 +21 +1.3  
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Yardenia 0.5 232 899 +21 +13.9  
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Menorah 2 769 65 +70 +10.0  
Menorah 3 650 b.o.1 +31 +5.0  
Securities 604 251 +55 +8.0  
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Inter-Gamma 2 58 564 a.e. —  
Meir Ezra 751 49 +41 +5.9  
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Teta 1 299 75 +24 +8.7  
Teta 2 305 100 +33 +10.1  
Teta op 31 4646 +46 +24.0  
Clal Trade — — —  
Clal Trade op — — —  
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(61201) Telephone 524222, HAIFA 16 Rehov Nardim, Hader Hacarmel, P.O. Box 4810  
(31047) Telephone 545444. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The  
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## Unheeded call

ONE OF THE FOUR writers who, on the day after the elections, made a fervent appeal for a national unity government - A.B. Yehoshua - on Friday issued a last, desperate call to the left-wing parties - Mapam and the Citizens Rights Movement - not to bolt the Labour camp but to join the unity coalition.

Such a government may be monstrous, he said, but Israel's reality is even more monstrous and Israel's left is strong enough to stand up to the right-wing camp in such a government. It is the demand of the hour, because different deeds are called for and not different rhetoric, he held.

Unfortunately, his call has gone unheeded. Mapam played out its scenario and decided yesterday to break up the Alignment with Labour and remain in opposition. Shulamit Aloni, together with the other left-wing leaders of the CRM, also remained faithful to her earlier pronouncements and opted against a Labour-Likud government.

But the more glaring bolt from the Labour camp was perhaps that of party enfant terrible Yossi Sarid, who occupied a key position in the Alignment's election campaign. He is now joining the CRM Knesset faction which is expected, together with Mapam, to form a left-wing opposition bloc of 10 Knesset Members.

Mr. Sarid has for a long time enjoyed the best of both worlds. He maintained a specially close relationship with Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres, often acting as his personal adviser. But that rarely stopped him from voicing his own, often non-conventional, views which embarrassed his party on more than one occasion.

He had the good sense after the stalemate result of the July elections not to rule out a national unity government with the Likud. But the maverick in him won out and he has now decided to take his precious Knesset seat into the opposition.

What all these left-wing opponents of a Labour-Likud government have in common is their deliberate ignoring of Israel's present-day reality after seven years of national-religious rule. It is a reality in which the Labour movement is increasingly losing touch with the masses of blue-collar workers and with the lower income groups of Israel's society. It is necessary for it to again assume direct responsibility for running this country in order to revive its ties with its estranged supporters.

Moreover, the nationalist rhetoric that was the mainstay of the Likud-led governments helped encourage and inspire extremist and fanatic trends which have become a cause for concern even for many more responsible Likud leaders.

A broad, national unity government in which both major blocs will have to cooperate and move towards the centre will have a far better chance of tackling these worrisome syndromes, than could a Labour movement railing against them from the opposition benches.

## High-priced achievement

THE 25 PER CENT improvement in the trade balance in the first eight months of the year is a ray of light in the gloom enfolding the state of the economy. Had other things been equal, outgoing Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad could have chalked up this improvement - which, if it holds, may amount to as much as \$900m. for the whole year - as a major achievement of his policy.

Unfortunately, "other things" rarely are equal, and they have certainly not been in this case. True, without the improvement in the trade balance, things might have been worse, even catastrophically worse. But what ultimately matters is not the trade balance alone, but the balance of payments as a whole, and the price the economy has paid for the improvement on which Mr. Cohen-Orgad has repeatedly prided himself.

For one thing, the improvement in the trade balance has already been more than matched by the fall in the foreign currency reserves. True, not all the foreign currency that was withdrawn by Israeli individuals and firms is lost to the economy. A good part of it has gone into private reserves under the mattress, in foreign bank accounts, and into purchases of goods that represent an accumulation of stock. Some of these "private reserves" may ultimately surface again, while a certain amount that no one can estimate even approximately represents a massive capital flight that may take a long, long time to be repatriated.

Foreign bankers will, to be sure, be impressed with what has been achieved in the trade balance, and that is a good thing. A narrowing of the trade gap by 25 per cent is an achievement that is not a daily occurrence in the economic performance of countries with balance of payments difficulties. It no doubt testifies to the continued vitality of the Israel economy, which has over the years learned to immunize itself to the effects of inept government policies and yet remain quick on its toes to respond to policy measures that favour it.

Although not too many questions are likely to be asked by foreign bankers about the price that has been paid for the improvement in the trade balance, the public in Israel must ask just these questions. Cohen-Orgad, who raised the banner of that achievement as his one and only goal, may rightly claim that the result vindicates his policy. He may even claim that had it not been for the political constraints under which he has had to act since March, when new elections were called, the results would have been even more impressive. Without these constraints, it might have been the balance of payments as a whole, and not just the trade balance, that improved considerably.

The price, however, would have been high in any case. The improvement in our foreign payments position has been bought at an astronomically high rate of inflation which remains a constant threat to the balance of payments in the longer run, and with a sharp wage erosion until about half a year ago that could not have been maintained.

The achievement with which Mr. Cohen-Orgad leaves the Treasury is therefore defective on two counts: first, in that it has been nullified by the massive deterioration in the foreign payments position caused during the election campaign; and second, that it is nothing more, and could never have been anything more, than a short term improvement.

To convert that short-term, one-time improvement into a lasting trend will be the task of the next government. Whether it will be able, from within the petrifying system of checks and balances, parties and stalemates, to come up with an economic programme that will convert a forward stagger into part of a steady onward march remains to be seen.

## A matter of credibility

By YITZHAK TAUB

WHEN ASKED about the recent outcry over the window-dressing performed on Israel's foreign currency reserves, the director-general of the Treasury said that the information published was devoid of any economic importance.

If he meant that the actual figure was unimportant as an economic indicator, I would tend to agree with him. But if it was so unimportant, why all the camouflage and the ensuing international publicity about the fall in Israel's international reserves?

Well, say Treasury officials, it has become a kind of symbol that cannot be changed now, particularly when the credibility of the government is so low. After there is an improvement in the state of the economy, something should be done about it.

I must admit that I feel sorry for the honourable gentlemen who were caught red-handed trying to cheer us up by publishing doctored figures. Perhaps they meant well - certainly they acted wrongly. When you do something of doubtful legitimacy, it is as well to calculate according to the worst-case scenario: what if I am found out.

Ministers have a notorious tendency to paper over unpleasant facts. But governors of central banks must rely on their credibility to win and keep public confidence. And what the present governor, Dr. Moshe Mandelbaum has allowed to happen is abominable.

Once upon a time, the Bank of Israel had a governor - David Horowitz - whose statements were always accepted as reliable and trustworthy. The bank also had a research department that published unpleasant facts - serving scientific truth, not the politicians of the day.

Thus, before discussing the question of the reserves, one must ask whether those who administer them can be exonerated for doing major damage to the economy and Israel's credit-worthiness abroad. The answer must be: they cannot.

It may be said that many acts or omissions go unpunished in Israel these days, so why should Dr. Mandelbaum be the exception, the scapegoat? The answer is simply that he is the governor of the one and only central bank we have.

AS FOR the reserves, they ostensibly represent a balance of the country's foreign currency transactions and are, specifically excluded from use for the retirement of debts or current payments. Rather, they are intended to be kept, so to speak, as cash here in Israel or in banks abroad.

The magnitude of these reserves is determined by economic and political decisions. For many years, people in Israel assumed that we should keep available the equivalent of one-quarter of all our annual foreign payments for imports of goods and services. As our import bill these days is in the order of \$15 to \$16 billion a year, the required reserves should be about \$3 to \$4 billion. That is, if you assume there is a need to

plan one's foreign payments by retaining enough liquidity to withstand emergencies and unexpected international payments.

Nor should it be forgotten that there is a price tag on keeping reserves - forgone interest on the non-retirement of debts, or at least a non-liquid investment of the same amount of money.

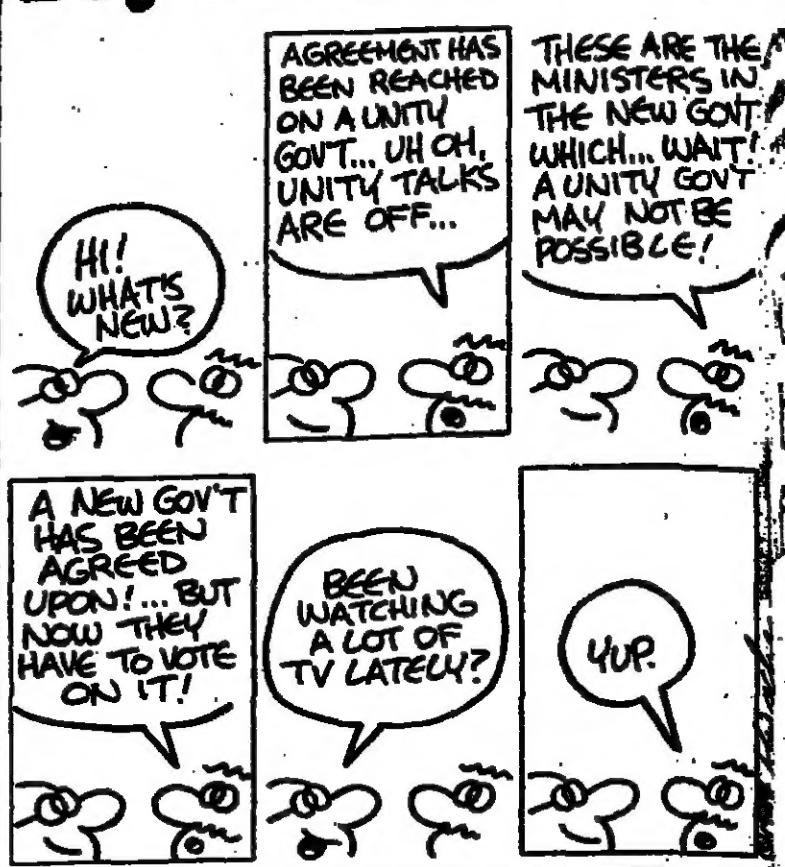
THE REAL PROBLEM with the present reserves crisis - if, indeed, there is one - is that of public relations. You can "bolster" your reserves by simply taking foreign loans and depositing them with the Bank of Israel. Then, suddenly, things look rosy again.

In other words, if you really want to learn something about Israel's foreign currency situation, you have to check the relationship between the change in reserves and the change in the country's international indebtedness. When you calculate the net change of both those figures, you begin to approach the true state of affairs.

The trouble is that these figures are not easy to come by. Unfortunately, the figure published each month - the foreign currency reserve with the Bank of Israel - is too partial to be trusted as an economic indicator as it is too vulnerable to manipulation.

IF THE PRESENT team at the Bank of Israel were more trustworthy it would suffice when they say

## Dry Bones



reserves are falling, assuming that they know what they are talking about without revealing the entire picture.

But unfortunately, more is now required - some new device, like the appointment of a team of independent economists to figure out what relevant figures should be published and by whom. No government can regain confidence without an overt act of restoring the credibility of the central bank - and perhaps this can only be achieved by changing the

present team heading the central bank. A new government can achieve this by politely indicating that it wants a new team and by reasserting the independence of the Bank of Israel. We are heading into stormy economic seas. The checks and balances built into the system - in this case, the Treasury versus the central bank - must be restored in order to reach safety. The writer is a commentator on economic affairs.

## The wider controversy

By DAVID CLAYMAN

ity inappropriate to a member of Israel's judiciary. Zamir's call to desist from such political activity elicited only an acerbic and defiant response by Meron.

The document is a working paper comprising two elements: tactics and substance. Prepared for the religious political parties it is intended to achieve the maximum in coalition negotiations in the religious sphere.

Meron writes that, "The proposal essentially is based on the existing arrangements in the country concerning religion and state. This is not a proposal for a Torah state because, to our regret, the political power of the religious public is insufficient for attaining such an achievement."

There are seven sections to the tactical portion of the document. They include not only a call for precise formulations of coalition agreements replete with time limits

and implementation clauses, but also suggest tactics to avoid the intervention of the attorney-general.

"It is of the utmost importance to free all proposed legislation from the bonds of government bureaucracy and from disruption of the legislative process by the attorney-general - so that legal opinions of the attorney-general cannot delay implementation of proposed legislation. If a proposed measure is not in accordance with existing law, the law is to be amended to allow for the measure's implementation."

The second or substantive portion of the Meron document proposes new clauses and amendments of past and current coalition agreements.

THE TIME-HONOURED status quo agreement which defined religion and state relationships in Israel since the inception of the state would

be scrapped. The bans on sabbath work and travel would extend far beyond traditional arrangements.

Passage of the Rabbinical Court Jurisdiction Bill would grant sole jurisdiction to rabbinical courts over all matters of personal status such as inheritance, marriage, divorce, conversion, and determining who is a Jew. Such an enactment would eliminate the existing right of appeal to Israel's civil courts, including the Supreme Court, in these matters. Judicial relief and status quo accommodations would disappear entirely under this proposed legislation.

Small wonder then that the outcry of American Jewish leadership concerning the proposed change in the Law of Return has been largely ignored by a seemingly unresponsive Israeli leadership and public. The far more draconian proposals affecting the real and everyday lives of Israelis simply overshadow a perceived moot and esoteric issue.

Restrictive religious legislation on abortion, archeology, women's legal status, medical pathology, and sabbath travel and work is a much more real and present danger than the symbolic issue of the reform convert who might someday want to immigrate to Israel. It is not that Israelis are insensitive to Diaspora Jewry, but rather, that the issue is not fully understood and appreciated or tangible and relevant as are these other threats to the fabric of Israel's socio-religious life.

IF ISRAELIS can be faulted for not being sensitive to the sensibilities of American Jewry, so can the latter be faulted for extrapolating the "Who is a Jew?" issue from a wider array of oppressive, discriminatory, and coercive religious legislation proposals.

The principle of church-state separation in America is at present under serious threat. The traditional wall of separation has been breached by recent Supreme Court decisions: legislation on equal access, and a president seeking to restore God to His rightful place in public schools. Similarly, the relationship between religion and state in Israel, expressed not by a wall of separation but rather, as an accommodation defined by a status quo agreement, is being threatened.

Unfortunately, Israel does not have an articulate, well-organized, counterforce in the form of civil liberty organizations or the American Jewish Congress. There is virtually no voice of opposition to the intentions, plans, strategies, and tactics of well-organized religious political groups who enjoy disproportionate electoral power.

The Meron document, much like the Kahane phenomenon, is a calculated attempt to use the democratic process for undemocratic purposes. Kahane clearly states that democracy and Judaism are incompatible. Meron writes that a Torah state is the ideal, although currently unattainable, state. Both have in common a distaste for existing democratic institutions which protect individual liberties, freedom of choice, and a pluralistic society.

Religion and nationalism have mounted an assault on Israel's democratic institutions. Far more is at stake than the definition of who is a Jew. The very character and soul of the Zionist enterprise is threatened. That same coalition of American Jewish organizations which is zealous in protecting the wall of separation in the United States and is correctly outraged by the possible de-legitimization of Reform and Conservative Judaism in Israel should be concerned and even involved in the defence of Israel's Jewish, democratic, and pluralistic contours.

The writer is Israel director of the American Jewish Congress.

"KNESSET LEGISLATION will guarantee that public transportation will cease throughout the country before the beginning of the sabbath or holiday and will resume only after the sabbath or holiday has ended. The ban will cover even chartered trips by private groups. The law will stipulate a fine or one-year prison sentence for violators of this law. Likewise, the airports and harbours will be shut down on the sabbath."

"An amendment to the existing law of work and rest hours will stipulate that no permits to work on the sabbath based solely on economic considerations or for entertaining purposes will be issued. In addition, the existing ban on employing Jewish labour on Jewish holidays will be extended to include the employment of non-Jewish labour in Jewish areas."

The above are only a few of the recommendations outlined in a document prepared for Israel's religious political parties in their coalition negotiations. It was prepared by the director of the rabbinical courts of the State of Israel, Rabbi Simcha Meron. Israel's attorney-general, Prof. Yitzhak Zamir, criticized Rabbi Meron's actions as political activity

### READERS' LETTERS

#### RELIGIOUS POLITICS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - Asher Wallfish ("A Response to discrimination," August 24) has written a prescription for the dissolution of 36 years of non-political, non-ideological support of Israel by the American Jewish community. It is ultimately a prescription for the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal and the Israel Bond Organization in the U.S.

However mesmerized he might be at the prospect of dealing a body blow to Torah Judaism and its spreading influence in Israel, he must be aware that if American Jews are to be saddled with sorting out an Israeli religious-secularist conflict he insists on exporting to these shores, many may simply throw up their hands and disengage with all support.

This tendency on the part of a waning secularist majority in Israel to exert not too subtle blackmail influence via New York and Los Angeles on battles they haven't been able to win in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv has already resulted in abominations like Breda and the New Jewish Agenda. To fractionalize American Jewish support of Israel along Reform, Conservative and Orthodox lines would cast their rule-of-ruin philosophy in concrete.

WILLIAM MEHLMAN  
Jerusalem (Neposait, N.Y.).

Asher Wallfish comments:  
Mehlman's "secularists" are the Conservative and Reform communities, I assume. But whatever conflict

rages, was generated in the United States as a result of squabbles between the various ultra-Orthodox groups, and then exported to Israel, as everyone knows. Were it not for ultra-Orthodox incitement, the "Who is a Jew" amendment would never have been proposed. That amendment was conceived as a weapon by part of the ultra-Orthodox American community against another part, using Israel's political world as the arena.

#### STAMPS NEEDED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - I am in charge of creative activities of handicapped children. Collecting stamps from different countries is a highly effective form of educational recreation.

You once before published a successful appeal for used and new stamps for my children. I would be most grateful if your readers could again send me stamps for them to 16 Bd. de la Federation, Capucine 2, Les Nouveaux Chartreux, 13004, Marseille, France.

Marseille. J.L. AMAR

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